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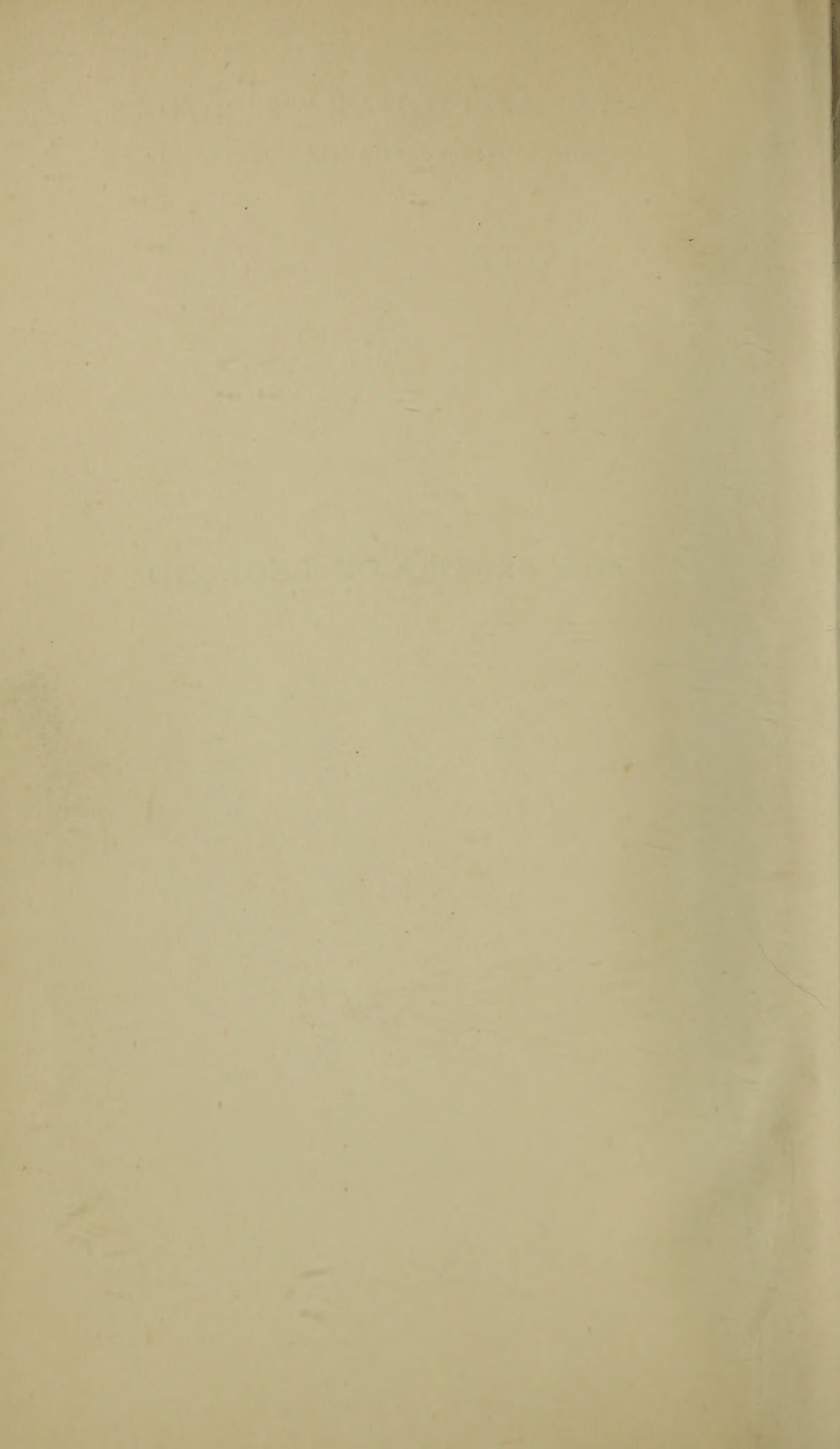
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THE ANTIQUARY'S BOOKS

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THE BRASSES OF ENGLAND



THE BRASSES OF ENGLAND

BY

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WITH EIGHTY-FIVE ILLUSTRATIONS

FOURTH EDITION



METHUEN & CO. LTD.
36 ESSEX STREET W.C.
LONDON

First Published . . February 1907
Second Edition . . July 1907
Third Edition . . April 1913
Fourth Edition . . 1928

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

TO MY FIVE SONS
CHRISTOPHER, DAVID, PAUL, HILARY
AND AUSTIN

AT THE SPECIAL REQUEST OF ONE WHOM
I DESIRE TO PLEASE

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

PREFACE

IN the following pages I have endeavoured to give a general survey of the whole of the monumental brasses yet existing in England. The subject is one which has been before antiquaries for a number of years, and about which there is a quite considerable literature. At the same time it is a literature not generally accessible, and consists chiefly of books long out of print, and of papers and articles printed in the Transactions of the various societies, as well as a number of pamphlets privately printed. The text-book is *A Manual of Monumental Brasses*, by the Rev. Herbert Haines, M.A., published in 1861, in two volumes, the first an Introduction, and the second a List of Brasses arranged in counties, which has formed the basis of all succeeding lists. The Introduction is an amplification of an earlier Manual which accompanied a Descriptive Catalogue of Rubbings issued by the Oxford Architectural Society.

Earlier works include Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain*, published 1786; *A Series of Monumental Brasses from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Century*, 1842–1864, by J. G. and L. A. B. Waller; and *Monumental Brasses and Slabs*, by the Rev. Charles Boutell, 1847, and *The Monumental Brasses of England*, by the same author, in 1849, a series of engravings upon wood with brief descriptive notices.

Separate counties were in these earlier days admirably treated by Thomas Fisher, 1812, for *Bedfordshire*; John Sell Cotman, 1819, for *Norfolk and Suffolk*; Franklin Hudson, 1853, for *Northamptonshire*; and, in a smaller and less costly

form, Edward Kite, 1860, for *Wiltshire*. *The Monumental Brasses of Cornwall*, 1882, by E. H. W. Dunkin, occupies an intermediate position, and is an excellent piece of work.

In 1886 a society was founded at Cambridge exclusively for the study of Monumental Brasses, and for the complete revision of Haines' Lists, a work not yet completed. Headquarters were afterwards transferred to London, and the *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society* have now extended to four complete volumes and part of a fifth. A *Journal of the Oxford University Brass-Rubbing Society* first appeared in 1897, and continued, in one excellent volume and two additional numbers, until December, 1900, after which the scope of the Society was enlarged, and its name changed to that of the Oxford University Antiquarian Society. To many of the writers in both these publications I am greatly indebted, and have made free use of their notes. An accurate *List of Monumental Brasses remaining in the County of Norfolk* was published by the Rev. Edmund Farrer in 1890, and a similar *List of Suffolk Monumental Brasses* in 1903. A *List of the Existing Sepulchral Brasses in Lincolnshire* was reprinted in 1895 from *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries* by the Rev. G. E. Jeans, and in the same year appeared a more brief list of *The Monumental Brasses of Warwickshire*, by the Rev. E. W. Badger.

Photo-lithographs of all, or nearly all, of the *Kentish Brasses* have been published by Mr. W. D. Belcher in two quarto volumes, 1888 and 1905. *The Monumental Brasses of Lancashire and Cheshire* by Mr. James T. Thornely appeared in 1893, and *Memorial Brasses in Hertfordshire Churches* by Mr. W. F. Andrews, second edition, in 1903.

Other counties have been dealt with in various publications. To Mr. Mill Stephenson, Hon. Sec. Monumental Brass Society, I must acknowledge special indebtedness. His *Monumental Brasses in Shropshire* appeared in the *Archæological Journal* in 1895. His notes upon the *Monumental Brasses in the East*

Riding in vol. xii. of the *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*; *The West Riding* in vol. xv., *The North Riding* also in vol. xv.; and *The City of York* in vol. xviii.; and his papers upon the brasses of *Surrey*, *Middlesex* and *Kent* have been printed in the *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, vols. iii., iv. and v. *The Brasses of Bedfordshire* by Mr. H. K. St. J. Sanderson, of *Huntingdonshire* by myself, a considerable part of those of *Cambridgeshire* by Messrs. Charlton, Cave, and Macalister, and of *Derbyshire* by Mr. Field, are listed in the *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*. *Brasses in the Diocese of Carlisle* have been described by the Rev. R. Bower in the *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*. *The Monumental Brasses of Gloucestershire* by Mr. C. T. Davis, 1897, in *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries*, many of those in *Dorset* by Mr. W. de C. Prideaux in the *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club*, and the most interesting of the brasses of *Essex* by Messrs. Miller Christy and W. W. Porteous in the *Essex Review*, the *Transactions of the Essex Archæological Society*, the *Reliquary and Illustrated Archæologist*, in the *Antiquary*, and in the *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*.

In writing of military brasses I have made some use of an excellent treatise by Mr. J. Starkie Gardner upon *Armour in England*, published in 1897 as one of the Portfolio Monographs, but in the main I have followed Boutell. Boutell, however, became impatient with the inferiority of the brasses of the sixteenth century, and gave the later styles but scant treatment. I have also derived assistance for my chapter on the Mediæval Clergy from a volume upon *The Development and History of Ecclesiastical Vestments* by Mr. R. A. S. Macalister, an active member of the Monumental Brass Society, published in the *Camden Library*. The appendix to Chapter III. upon Cast Metal Tombs is due to a suggestion of Dr. J. Charles Cox, the general editor of these *Antiquary's Books*. For the

Woolmen and the Judicial Brasses, in the appendices to Chapter VII., I am largely indebted to Mr. Jeans and Mr. Davis, for their accounts of individual brasses in Lincolnshire and Gloucestershire. From the former I have also derived my account of the noble and sadly mutilated brasses at Tattershall, as also much else about other brasses of his chosen county. In the matter of Palimpsests I have relied wholly upon Mr. Stephenson, whose work upon the subject, in the *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, is practically exhaustive. My views upon the German origin and workmanship of the most important of those brasses which have hitherto been called Flemish are founded upon a close examination of the examples existing in England, and a detailed comparison of them with the splendid illustrations of German, Flemish, and other foreign brasses included in Mr. Creeny's *Monumental Brasses of the Continent of Europe*, published in folio in 1884.

The admirable *Manual of Costume as Illustrated by Monumental Brasses* by Mr. Herbert Druitt, 1906, has appeared too late for me to use, except as to a few quite minor corrections. In most respects this book will be found to supplement the present work in the questions with which it especially deals.

In the matter of illustrations I have many obligations and kindnesses to acknowledge. The plates have all been specially prepared, but are not all necessarily original, many of them being copied or reduced from those in other publications. As President of the Monumental Brass Society, and with the concurrence of the Hon. Sec., I have ventured to make free use of illustrations which have already appeared in various numbers of the society's *Portfolio* and in its *Transactions*. In face, however, of a very limited circulation amongst the membership, most of these illustrations will be new to the more general antiquary. I have to heartily thank the Committee of the Oxford University Antiquarian Society for permission to make a similar use of the fruits of their work. The Merton College,

Queen's College, Chinnor, Drayton Beauchamp, Deerhurst, Checkendon and Thornton brasses are reduced from the *Oxford Portfolio*, and the Cranley "Resurrection" from the Society's *Transactions*. Mr. E. M. Beloe, junior, of King's Lynn, has published in folio a number of the Norfolk brasses and a complete set of those of Westminster Abbey. He has very kindly allowed me to draw upon these, and I am indebted to him for the originals of the Duchess of Gloucester, Archbishop Waldeby, and Abbot Estney; for Sir Hugh Hastings; and for details of the Lynn brasses. To Mr. Andrew Oliver, A.R.I.B.A., I am equally indebted for the fine illustration of the beautiful monastic brass at Cowfold, reproduced from his illustration in the *Architectural Association Sketch Book*; for the Honywode brass at Windsor; and for the Westley Waterless and Trotton brasses on pages 24 and 145, copied, with the permission of the editor, from the *Builder*. Mr. W. D. Belcher has also allowed me to select illustrations from his *Kentish Brasses*, and with grateful thanks I have taken the Chartham, Minster, Woodchurch, Upper Hardres, and Hever brasses from this source. By Mr. Druitt's kindness in sending me an advance list of his own illustrations, I have been able almost entirely to avoid duplicating with him.

The arrangement of my book, perhaps, needs a few words of explanation. All other writers have classified the brasses according to subject, taking, for instance, all military brasses together, then perhaps ecclesiastical, then civil, and so forth, or following a similar outline from century to century. I also have done the same in my elementary manual of *Monumental Brasses*, published seventeen years ago and still in print. But in the present volume I have desired to take a wider view, and to connect brasses more closely with the history of our country. My periods are, therefore, in the main historic. Half of the chapters deal with the brasses of particular epochs—Edwardian, Plantagenet, Lancastrian, Yorkist, Tudor, and Elizabethan, and palimpsest brasses are ranged under the Spoliation of the

Monasteries, the Suppression of Chantries, and Foreign Wars of Religion. It is, of course, necessary to make exceptions, and thus all brasses of foreign workmanship, except palimpsests, are brought together into one chapter, as are those of the clergy down to the Reformation. Where smaller groups of brasses required separate treatment, I have dealt with them in special appendices, which are placed immediately after those chapters and periods to which the principal or early examples belong, and I believe that this arrangement will be found to be convenient.

In my Index of Places I have included every brass mentioned in the book, and have also inserted the date of each. This will not only make reference easier, but will show at a glance where the earlier brasses in each county are to be found. For almost every brass to the end of the fourteenth century receives at least some mention, as well as nearly all the important and specially interesting examples of later date. In the General Index, however, I have not been able to repeat those personal names which occur only in the chronological lists.

H. W. M.

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BEDFORDSHIRE

1907

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

	PAGE
INTRODUCTORY	I

CHAPTER II

BRASSES IN THE REIGNS OF THE TWO FIRST EDWARDS, 1272-	
1327	13
The earliest existing Brasses.	
APPENDIX (1) THE ENGRAVERS	32
„ (2) THE ENAMELLERS	35
„ (3) INSCRIPTIONS	38
„ (4) HERALDRY.	41

CHAPTER III

THE GOLDEN AGE OF PLANTAGENET RULE, 1327-1399	46
APPENDIX. CAST-METAL TOMBS	60

CHAPTER IV

ARCHITECTURAL ORNAMENT	67
Canopies, bracket-brasses, and crosses.	

CHAPTER V

FOREIGN WORKMANSHIP.	83
Periods and groups. German and Flemish Work. Reference to Palimpsest examples.	

CHAPTER VI

THE MEDIÆVAL CLERGY OF ENGLAND	100
APPENDIX (1) THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS,	130
„ (2) THE UNIVERSITIES	135

CHAPTER VII

	PAGE
THE LANCASTRIAN PERIOD, 1400-1453	142
APPENDIX (1) THE WOOL-STAPLERS	166
„ (2) THE LEGAL PROFESSION	173

CHAPTER VIII

THE WARS OF THE ROSES, 1453-1485	183
APPENDIX (1) CHALICE BRASSES	201
„ (2) HEART BRASSES	205
„ (3) SHROUD BRASSES	210

CHAPTER IX

BRASSES IN THE TUDOR PERIOD, 1485-1547	216
APPENDIX (1) THE EDWARDIAN AND MARIAN TRANSITION	238
„ (2) MERCHANT COMPANIES AND THEIR ARMS	242

CHAPTER X

SPOILIATION OF THE MONASTERIES	249
Palimpsest Brasses.	

CHAPTER XI

THE ELIZABETHAN REVIVAL, 1558-1625	269
APPENDIX (1) CAROLINE DECADENCE	294
„ (2) THE LAST FEW BRASSES	300

CHAPTER XII

BRASSES AND DESPOILED SLABS	306
Conclusion.	
INDEX OF PLACES	317
GENERAL INDEX	330

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

	PAGE
Sir John Daubernoun, Stoke d'Abernon	15
Sir Richard de Boselyngthorpe Buslingthorpe	17
Sir Robert de Setvans, Chartham	20
Sir John de Creke and wife, Westley Waterless	24
Sir John de Northwode, Minster	26
Margarete de Camoys, Trotton	28
Joan de Northwode, Minster	30
Nichol de Gore, priest in cross, Woodchurch	31
John Wantele, in tabard, Amberley	43
Sir Roger le Strange, in tabard, Hunstanton	45
Sir Hugh Hastings, Elsing	49
Reginald de Malyns, in armour, and his two wives, Chinnor	51
Thomas Cheyne, Esq., Drayton Beauchamp	53
Alianore de Bohun, Westminster Abbey	57
Two Civilians, King's Somborne	59
John Strete, priest, with bracket, Upper Hardres	74
John Bloxham and John Whytton, priests, on canopied bracket, Merton College, Oxford	77
Robert de Paris and wife, with octofoil cross, Hildersham	81
Robert Braunche and his two wives (section), King's Lynn	85
Pictorial compartment from below the feet of Adam de Walsokne, King's Lynn	86
Lower sinister section of the Braunche Brass	87
Upper dexter section of the same	89
Portion of dexter lady in the same	90
Thomas Pownder and wife, Ipswich	96

xvi THE BRASSES OF ENGLAND

	PAGE
Dr. Duncan Liddel, Aberdeen	98
Archbishop Waldeby, Westminster Abbey	107
Bishop Robinson, Queen's College, Oxford	111
Abbot Estney, Westminster Abbey	113
Archdeacon Fynexs, Bury St. Edmund's	117
Robert Langton, priest, Queen's College, Oxford	119
Henry de Codryngtoun, priest, Bottesford	121
Stole from Brass formerly at Oulton	125
Maniple from Brass at Northfleet	125
Amice from Brass at Ockham	126
Prior Nelond, Cowfold	134
Provost Argentein, King's College, Cambridge	138
Lord Camoys and wife, Trotton	145
Sir John Lysle, Thrupton	151
Sir Thomas Bullen, Hever	155
Richard Martyn and wife, Dartford	159
John Fortey, woolman, Northleach	169
Arms of the Staple of Calais, St. Olave's, Hart Street	170
William Browne, woolman, and wife, Stamford	172
Sir John Cassy, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and wife, Deerhurst	174
Sir William Yelverton, Justice of the King's Bench, Rougham	177
John Rede, Serjeant-at-law, Checkendon	179
A Notary, Ipswich	181
Robert Ingylton, Esq., and his three wives, Thornton	184
Sir Thomas Shernborne, Shernborne	189
Sir Thomas Stathum and his two wives, Morley	193
Sir Thomas Urswyk and wife, Dagenham	196
Chalice from Brass at Wensley	202
Chalice-brass at Bawburgh	204
Chalice from Brass at Holwell	204
Thomas Knyghtley, Esq., Fawsley	209
Shrouded figure of William Robert, Digswell	212
Shrouded figure of Philipp Tenison, Bawburgh	215

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

xvii

	PAGE
Canon Honywode, Windsor Castle	219
Richard Conquest, Esq., and wife, Houghton Conquest	221
Lord le Strange and wife, Hillingdon	224
John Shelley, Esq., and wife, Clapham	229
Henry Hatche and wife, Faversham	232
Annunciation from Brass of William Porter, Hereford	236
Resurrection from Brass of Robert Hardyng, Cranley	237
Sir Humfrey Style, in tabard, Beckenham	241
Arms of the Mercers Company, St. Olave's, Hart Street	243
Arms of the Merchant Tailors Company, Great St. Helen's	246
Arms of the Salters Company, All Hallows Barking	246
Arms of the Brewers Company, All Hallows Barking	248
Palimpsest Brass of Isabell Copleston, Yealmpton	262
Sir Henry Sacheverell and wife, Morley	271
Nicholas Wadham, Esq., and wife, Ilminster	273
William Dunche, Esq., and wife, Little Wittenham	278
Richard Gadburye, Eyworth	281
Margaret Chute, Marden	283
Bedstead Brass to Anne Savage, Wormington	285
Provost Airay, Queen's College, Oxford	291
James Cotrel, York Minster	293
A Lady, Launceston	299
Cradle-brass to Dorothy King, Windsor Castle	301
Robert Shiers, Esq., Great Bookham	304
Despoiled Slab of Bishop Beaumont, Durham Cathedral	314

LIST OF PLATES

	TO FACE PAGE
Statuettes from Tomb of Edward III., Westminster Abbey	62
Walter Pescod, Boston	70
Laurence de St. Maur, priest, Higham Ferrers	101

TABLE OF CHRONOLOGICAL LISTS

	PAGE
The Earliest Existing Brasses	14
Knights in Transitional Armour	47
Military Figures of the Later Plantagenet Period	52
Ladies of the Same, portrayed alone	55
Civilian Brasses of the Same	56
Canopies of the Fifteenth Century	71
Bracket Brasses of the Fourteenth Century	75
Bracket Brasses of the Fifteenth Century	75
Bracket Brasses of the Sixteenth Century	76
Floriated Crosses with Figures	78
Octofoil ditto	79
Crosses without Figures	80
Brasses of Foreign Workmanship, Fourteenth Century	84
The Same in Later Periods	95
Priests in Eucharistic Vestments	104
Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots, in Pontificals	112
Priests in Surplice and Almuze	116
Priests vested in the Cope	120
Priests in Cassock only	124
Members of the Religious Orders	131
Academical Brasses	139
Military Figures of the Early Lancastrian Period	148
The Same in Mixed Mail and Plate Armour	150
The Same in Complete Plate	150
Military Figures of the Later Lancastrian Period	156
The Same with Further Developments	157

xx THE BRASSES OF ENGLAND

	PAGE
Civilian Brasses of the Same Period	161
Brasses to the Wool Merchants	167
Judicial Brasses of the Early Fifteenth Century	173
The Same in the Latter Half of the Century	176
The Same in the Sixteenth Century	178
Serjeants-at-law	180
Military Figures of the Yorkist Period	187
Tabard Brasses of the Same	192
Ladies of the Same, pourtrayed alone	197
Civilian Brasses of the Same	200
The Yorkshire Chalice Brasses	202
The Norfolk Chalice Brasses	203
Chalice Brasses in other Counties	204
Heart Brasses of the Simplest Type	205
Hearts upheld by Hands	207
Heart Brasses of Various Types	207
Shroud Brasses of the Fifteenth Century	211
The Same to the Death of Henry VIII.	213
Later Shroud Brasses	214
Military Figures in the Reign of Henry VII.	222
The Same in the Reign of Henry VIII.	223
Heraldic Brasses in the Tudor Period	230
Military Figures of the Edwardian Transition	239
The Latest Heraldic Brasses	240
Palimpsests with English Reverses	256
The Same from Portions of Foreign Brasses	258
Military Figures of the Elizabethan Period	276
Post-Reformation Ecclesiastics.	286
Caroline Clergy	295
Military Figures in the Reign of Charles I.	296
Commonwealth Brasses	300
Brasses from the Restoration to End of Seventeenth Century	302
Brasses of the Eighteenth Century	305

THE BRASSES OF ENGLAND

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

MEMORIALS of the dead have taken many forms. And, strangely enough, these forms often stand apart from one another so widely that they may require to be studied separately—not, indeed, in watertight compartments, but in such a way as to receive definitely distinctive treatment.

This is the case with the engraved memorial brasses which form the subject of the present work, as students have freely recognized for the last half-century. And thus the name Brasses is commonly taken to refer only to such memorials, and in these pages a brass will uniformly mean a brass plate which is engraved, with inscription, figure, coat-of-arms, religious symbol, or the like, and which is also a memorial or part of a memorial to the dead.

MATERIAL

Strictly speaking, the material used is not brass at all, but an alloy consisting of about 67 parts copper, 28 zinc, and 5 of lead and tin. The result is a peculiarly hard metal, capable of resisting much rough usage. Indeed, brasses are often nearly as perfect now as when they were first laid down,

and have frequently outlasted not only their companion monuments of other kinds, but the stone or marble slabs in which they have themselves been set, and the very buildings which originally contained them.

The ancient name for the metal was latten, and it was manufactured exclusively on the Continent—at least until the middle of the sixteenth century—in Flanders and Germany, and particularly at Cologne, whence it was imported into England in rectangular pieces known as Cullen plates, to be cut out and engraved by English workmen and artists.

ADVANTAGES

The advantages gained by the use of brasses in place of more imposing monuments of carved stone are sufficiently obvious. A brass occupied no valuable space. A casement or matrix was made in the gravestone, and the brass sunk to the level of the surrounding pavement. Far greater variety of treatment could be obtained, and the monumental brass could be, and was, made to suit all classes of the community, from persons of humble rank to those of the highest, according to their means.

ARTISTIC TREATMENT

In spite of certain limitations, brasses may be looked upon as distinctly works of art; not necessarily beautiful, but full of artistic purpose and instruction. Great care was taken to represent faithfully the costume of each period, and this was done so exactly that the date of a brass, where the inscription has been lost, can usually be ascertained with precision from the dress or armour worn, as well as from the general character of the engraving.

Gross extravagances of costume are seldom to be found, and the art is remarkable for its sobriety and good taste. It is probable that the artists worked from definite types, which

had to be adapted to each case. They also seem to have largely copied from the stone monuments and sculptured effigies which preceded them in point of date, and were continued side by side with them through every period. Thus it was usual to depict the figures as though they were recumbent, with the head pillowed upon cushion or helmet, and the feet resting against a lion or a hound. It was not until the late and declining periods that brasses became pictorial, and actual portraits of those who were commemorated seldom appear to have been attempted much before the reign of Elizabeth. The material best lends itself to the use of dignified types, with broad lines and simple treatment, both in design and execution.

RISE, PROGRESS, AND DECLINE

It will be found that the history of brass-engraving falls naturally into definite periods, each with its special characteristics.

In the widest sense the periods will correspond with those of contemporary architecture, and this will help to explain why brasses begin at their very best, and then, after a single century of great excellence, gradually decline, with architecture, until they are lost in the classic revival. In a more restricted sense they roughly correspond with dynastic changes in English history, and will be so treated in the present volume.

The first period covers the reigns of Edward I. and Edward II., 1272-1327, the earliest existing brass in England dating from 1277. Not that this was actually the first laid down, for there are records or matrices of a few of earlier date, though probably they were never very numerous. In St. Paul's Church, Bedford, lies a slab with the worn matrix of a large Latin cross, 69 by 30 inches, with serrated or indented edges; it sprang from a quadrangular plate, 17 by 9 inches, and on either side of the head there was a small shield. At

the north edge are faint traces of the matrix of a border fillet. This is believed to be the memorial of Sir Simon de Beauchamp, 1208, thus mentioned by Leland (*Iter.*, vol. i. fol. 116): "He lieth afore the high altar of St. Paul's Church in Bedford, with this epitaphie graven in brass and set on a flat stone, 'De Bello Campo jacet hic sub Marmore Simon founder de Newenham.'"

Nothing else is recorded until nearly the middle of the century, when there were brasses to Jocelyn, Bishop of Wells, in Wells Cathedral, 1242; Rich. de Berkyng, Abbot of Westminster, in episcopal vestments, in Westminster Abbey, 1246; and Bingham, Bishop of Salisbury, 1247, a cross fleury and demi-figure on the north side of the choir of Salisbury Cathedral. There was also at Lynwode, in Lincolnshire, a small cross-legged military figure, of which the matrix still remains in excellent condition. William of York, Bishop of Salisbury, had in 1256 a similar tomb to that of Bingham, with the demi-figure of a bishop, but no cross; and this also remains in the choir of his cathedral, upon an altar-tomb in the south aisle.

Next comes the mail-clad effigy of Sir John Daubernoun, and his is the first English brass still existing. This well-known brass introduces the first group of examples, which, being few in number, are all enumerated and described at some length in the next chapter. For the most part they represent recumbent effigies, are frequently of the size of life, and appear to be copied from the prevailing types of effigial stone monuments. But they are not portraits, and the features are conventional. Architectural canopies appear in the second part of the period, from the commencement of the reign of Edward II., and heraldry is represented from the very beginning. The artistic treatment is bold and effective, and though the drawing may not be always strictly correct, there is a dignity and breadth of feeling not often reached in later periods. The plates of metal used are thicker and better than those of any

succeeding age, the engraved lines have been more deeply incised, and the existing brasses have suffered little from the action of time and wear.

The second period is that of Edward III. and Richard II., from 1327-1399. Brasses become more numerous, about one hundred and forty being known¹, and they represent many varying types. In one direction they advance to their highest point of excellence, in size, beauty, and elaboration of detail; in another, they now begin to include memorials of the great middle class, which historically was rising steadily in importance and influence.

The lesser nobility, knights and squires, with their ladies, are, as one would expect, amply represented. So is the priesthood, together with a few of the higher ecclesiastics, such as Trilleck, Bishop of Hereford, Robert Wyvil and John de Waltham, Bishops of Salisbury, Archbishop Waldeby of York, and Delamere, Abbot of St. Albans.

Wealthy merchants, as Adam de Walsokne and Robert Braunche of Lynn, with Alan Fleming of Newark, claim some of the most splendid brasses which have ever been engraved, either in this country or on the continent of Europe. But, at the same time, there appear many small and simple brasses of unknown civilians, which are, in their way, of as high importance as those of their wealthier and nobler contemporaries, because of the witness they bear to the development of the people of England.

Most of the brasses of this golden period are included in the lists and appendices of the third chapter. They exhibit the costume of the time with considerable completeness, omitting only the greatest extravagancies of fashion, which may be better seen in illuminated manuscripts. Architectural accessories are at their best, and there are many examples of fine canopy and tabernacle work, with brackets and rich floriated crosses. This is, of course, to be expected of an age which had just seen the erection of the Lantern of Ely, and witnessed

6 THE BRASSES OF ENGLAND

the completion of the great Minster at York. And it is not without reason that the best period of the art of engraving memorial brasses should be associated with the Decorated style of architecture which prevailed throughout the greater part of the fourteenth century, and exhibits the most complete and perfect development of Gothic. For this, in the Early English style, is said to have been not fully matured, and in the Perpendicular to have begun to decline.

The third period is the Lancastrian, from 1400 to 1453. About five hundred figure-brasses may be referred to it, and many important changes occur. The long "Hundred Years' War" with France brought about a rapid development in the use of arms and armour, common to all the nations of Western Europe.

Since the military equipment was the same for all, it would have been impossible to distinguish by their armour alone the soldiers of opposing forces. Heraldry, therefore, is of the first importance, and is introduced into almost all the brasses of those who were entitled by law or custom to the bearing of arms.

There are still a great number of really fine brasses, but it is nevertheless evident that the art of engraving has passed its highest point, and that a decline has begun. The figures are often excessively stiff and conventional, and the lines not so deeply or so boldly incised as heretofore.

It has been said that arms and armour were European rather than English. In other directions, England was becoming far more English than it had ever been before. The language of the earlier inscriptions was Latin or French. The French now disappears, and gives place to the English of Wycliffe and Chaucer, with epitaphs in verse as well as sober prose, and much to be learnt from both.

The fourth period is that of the Wars of the Roses, 1453-1485, and is of no little interest. England, for the first time since the Norman Conquest, was cut off from the rest of

Europe, and free to develope along her own lines. The internecine wars had little effect upon the life of the people, and brasses are just as numerous as before. Trade symbols and merchants' marks become common, and the great guilds and companies were widening in power and influence.

In armour there are many changes, and here alone can be seen the traces of civil strife. Distinguishing and party badges, collars, and devices are freely depicted, and heraldry is more needful than ever. It also became usual for knights and squires to wear tabards-of-arms over their body armour, and for their ladies to appear in heraldic kirtles and mantles.

The fifth period is the Tudor, from 1485 to 1558. Its brasses are altogether distinct from those that go before or come after, both in style and artistic treatment. They are vastly inferior, in spite of the revival of learning, and in spite of the culture of the Renaissance, or perhaps because of them. The mediæval arts were dying, and giving place to others. Yet brasses were very widely used, and by all sorts and conditions of men. They were smaller, cheaper, more easily obtained, and there was more money to spend upon them. New developments abound, and this is particularly the age of special classes, such as Chalice Brasses for the memorials of priests, Heart Brasses, Shrouded Figures, and Skeletons. All these, it is true, had already been sparingly introduced, but now became popular, and were fully developed. Canopies are comparatively rare, but it began to be a common practice to engrave small rectangular brasses, which were usually mounted upon a stone framework, and affixed to the wall instead of the floor.

After the death of Henry VIII. there comes a marked pause, the sign of the religious changes through which the country was passing, and there are few brasses of the reigns of Edward VI. or Queen Mary.

The sixth period begins with Elizabeth, and after the middle of the century there comes a great revival, not in the

8 THE BRASSES OF ENGLAND

beauty, but in the use of brasses. For the first time the metal itself was manufactured in England, instead of being imported from Flanders and Germany ; but it was a distinctly inferior metal, and was cast, or more probably rolled, in thin plates, which have worn grievously. Armour is occasionally, but not often, shown, and the clergy appear in ordinary civil costume.

Throughout the reign of James I. brasses are as numerous as before, and of the same type ; but there are only a few of later date, and those of an even greater inferiority. In the eighteenth century the ancient art dies out altogether.

DIRECTIONS GIVEN IN EXISTING WILLS

It sometimes happens that full directions for the preparing and laying down of brasses are to be found in existing wills. An interesting example, dated November 5, 1378, was communicated to the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xv. pp. 268, 269, and has been quoted by Haines and others. It refers to the making of two brasses, of which the second still exists in the parish church of Bray, in Berkshire, A.D. 1378, to the memory of Sir John de Foxley and his two wives, who are represented in heraldic dresses, and standing upon a mutilated bracket, from which the canopies are now lost.

He wills that his executors should cause to be prepared a marble slab for the tomb of his parents in the chapel of All Saints in the church of Bray, and that they should have the stone well furnished with effigies, inscription, etc., in metal, according to the ordering and opinion of his very reverend lord the Bishop of Winchester. A similar monument, the one now extant, was also to be prepared for himself.

“Item, volo et ordino quod executores mei de bonis patris mei emant unum lapidem marmoreum pro tumulo dicti patris mei et matris mee in capella omnium sanctorum in ecclesia de Braye predicta, et quod faciant dictum lapidem parari decenter cum ymagine, scriptura, etc., de metallo ; videlicet, dicti patris mei in armis suis, et

matris mee in armis pictis, videlicet, de armis dicti patris mei et matris mee predictæ, et volo quod quoad ordinacionem dicti lapidis executores mei totaliter faciant juxta ordinacionem et consensum domini mei reverendissimi, domini Wyntoniensis Episcopi.

“Item, volo et dispono quod predicti executores mei emant unum alium lapidem marmoreum sufficientem pro tumulo meo, cum sepultus fuero; et quod dictum lapidem parari faciant cum scriptura et ymagine de metallo, videlicet, mei ipsius in armis meis, et uxoris mee defuncte ex parte dextra dicte ymaginis mee in armis pictis, videlicet de armis meis et dicte uxoris mee; et cum ymagine uxoris mee nunc viventis, in armis meis, ex parte sinistra dicte ymaginis mee.”

Passing to the middle of the sixteenth century, a further example may be given from the will of Thos. Salter, chantry priest of St. Nicholas Acon, in the city of London. The will is dated August 31, and proved December 19, 1558. It is quoted by Mr. J. Challenor Smith, F.S.A., in the *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, vol. iv. p. 136. The testator desires to be buried “in our ladie chappell wth in the parishe church of St. Magnus,” and gives full directions for a brass to be laid down to his memory in the following words:—

“I will haue a graye m(ar)ble stone leyd vpon my grave of the full length and bredth of my saide grave and before the said stone be layed vpon my grave I will that there be an image of a priest w^t an albe and a vestment upon him graven in copper of a cunyng m(ar)bler that dwellithe in sancte Dunstons p(ar)ishe in the west agaynste the sowth syde of the churche and that the saide image be iii fote in length and that the saide image do holde in bothe his handes the similitude of a co(n)secrate ooste in a su(n)ne beame apearinge right aboue the chalice that the said image holdeth in bothe his handes vnder the saide su(n)ne beame and the eyes of the ymmage to be grauen cloosed together as all dead mens eyes ought so to be and a lyttle aboue the said ymages heade I will haue a rolle grauen in copper and ther sett and these wordes nexte followinge to be grauen in yt thus saying Miserere mei deus secundum magnam m(isericord)iam tuam And right and iust vnder the said ymages foote I will that ther be a large plate of copper

laied and made lyke a tablett of Antick fac(i)on And in the said tablet I will have theise wordes nexte following graven in it this sayinge In the grace and greате mercye of God here lyeth vnder this marble stone the bodie of Thomas Salter priest sometye of London whiche departed from this tra(n)sytore liff vnto allmyghtie God vppon the — day of the moneth — and in the yere of our lord god M V^c LVIII he then being of thage iiii score yeres vnto whose sowle allmyghtie god be mercefill Amen And right vndre and nexte ioyned vnto the said copper plate I will haue graven in a skutchin of copper the Armes of the salters companye bycause I was in my youth one of the said companye and lyverey."

In carrying out such directions as those just given, it would be usual for the engravers or tomb-makers to draw up and sign a formal contract or indenture for the work which was to be done.

In the *Archæological Journal*, vol. viii. p. 186, an indenture of this kind is given, made in 1580 between the executors of Thos. Fermor, Esq., of Somerton, Oxon, and Richard and Gabriel Roiley, tomb-makers, of Burton-on-Trent. It is for an alabaster tomb, not a brass, but would do as well for the one as the other, and may be taken as a typical specimen.

The contractors agree to make "a very faire decent and well p'portioned picture or portrature of a gentleman representing y^e said Thomas Fermor wth furniture and ornamentes in armour, and about his necke a double cheyne of gold wth creste and helmette under his head, wth sword and dagger by his side, and a lion at his feete, and in or on the uttermoste parte of the uppermoste parte of the said Tumbe a decent and p'fect picture or portraiture of a faire gentlewoman wth a Frenche-hood, edge and abiliment, wth all other apparell furniture jewells ornamentes and thinges in all respectes usuall, decent, and semely, for a gentlewoman." . . . Also "decent and usuall pictures of, or for, one sonne or (*sic*) two daughters of y^e said Thomas Fermor wth their severall names of Baptism over or under y^e said pictures, severally and orderly wth scutcheons in their handes, whereof y^e said sonne to be pictured in armour and as liveinge, and y^e one of y^e said daughters to be pictured in decent order and as liveinge,

and y^e other daughter to be pictured as dieinge in y^e cradle or swathes." . . . Also four shields with "trew armes" of the deceased and his two wives, and a Latin inscription given at full length.

THE COST OF BRASSES

The cost is frequently given, and varied very considerably. Twenty marks was the price allowed for the marble stone and life-sized brass effigies of Sir John de St. Quintin and his two wives at Brandsburton, Yorks., 1397, but only one of the wives is represented. Ten pounds were bequeathed by Sir Thos. Ughtred, at about the same time, in 1398, for a marble stone to be inlaid "cum duabus ymaginibus patris mei et matris meæ de laton, sculptis in armis meis et in armis de les Burdons, ad ponendum super sepulchrum domini Thomæ Ughtred patris mei, et Willielmi filii mei, in ecclesia parochiali de Catton dictæ Ebor. dioceseos."

In 1405 Thos. Graa left 100 shillings "ad unum lapidem marmoreum super corpus meum ponendum cum imaginibus mei et Matildis nuper uxoris meae impressis."

In 1471 eight marks was sufficient for the brass of Sir John Curson and his lady at Bylaugh, Norfolk, consisting of two figures, about 3½ feet high, four shields, and an inscription. £6 13s. 4d. was bequeathed for the brass of Wm. Catisby, Esq., and his wife Margaret, in 1505, at Ashby St. Legers, Northants., in which they are represented in heraldic dresses under a fine double canopy. The brass figure of Robert Gosebourne, 1523, a priest in academics, at St. Alphege, Canterbury, measures 27 inches, and has an inscription in six lines and four shields. This, with its marble stone, cost £4 10s. These instances are all quoted in Haines' *Manual*, 58-60, to which reference should be made for further particulars.

A very late and extremely interesting account is copied by Mr. C. T. Davis, in the *Transactions of the Mon. Brass Soc.*, vol. iii. p. 184, from an Inventory of Writs in the

Burgh of Aberdeen, which gives the entire cost of the brass of Dr. Duncan Liddel, 1613, mural in the Old or West Church of that town. It is a large sheet of metal, measuring 5 feet 5 inches by 2 feet 11 inches, was engraved at Antwerp, and will be found more fully described in the chapter upon Foreign Workmanship (cf. illustration, p. 98). The metal was computed to weigh 219 lbs., and cost £31 *os.* 6*d.* The engraving came to £53 more, including a bounty of "2 kinkins of salmond," valued at £3. Expenses of transport, custom-house dues, etc., amounted to £37 15*s.*; but the bulk of it was for three voyages made to Antwerp on behalf of the executors. It was, therefore, an expensive brass, the total being £121 15*s.* 6*d.*, and an additional sum of ten Scotch pounds "for sinking the same in ye steane & Laying yroff to Alexander Wyisman."

CHAPTER II

BRASSES IN THE REIGNS OF THE TWO FIRST EDWARDS

EDWARD I. 1272-1307

EDWARD II. 1307-1327

IT is to be noted that when monumental brasses were first introduced into England, they were not in any sense copied from foreign examples, but were at once designed and engraved in a definitely English style, which maintained its own characteristics through all subsequent changes and developments.

In Germany the earliest existing brasses are those of Bishop Iso von Wilpe, 1231, and Bishop Otto de Brunswick, 1279, at Verden and Hildesheim, in Hanover. The figures are engraved upon rectangular plates of metal, and surrounded by border inscriptions, the Verden brass, however, being slightly wider at the head than at the foot. But the rectangular arrangement is followed in almost all continental brasses, and the ground filled in usually with elaborate tabernacle and diaper work.

In England the plan is altogether different. The groundwork is the actual gravestone, and figures, inscriptions, canopies, coats-of-arms, etc., are all let into separate casements until the design is complete.

Leaving matrices out of account, there yet remain nearly twenty memorials of the first period, all well known, and

enumerated below. They include eleven figures of knights or gentlemen in armour, three priests and one archbishop, six ladies, of whom three are associated with their husbands, and one gentleman in civil dress. Two half-effigies of priests at Kemsing, Kent, and Wantage, Berks., placed by Haines at *c.* 1320, are now found to be of later date, viz. 1347 and *c.* 1350, and are therefore omitted.

We may, however, conclude that the earlier brasses were chiefly military and ecclesiastical, and we shall find that these two classes will always claim a large share of our attention. A little later the middle classes rose to greater prominence, and adopted the monumental brass as their own, to such a degree that these memorials bear a special witness to the history of the common life of England.

It will now be necessary to give a complete list of the first brasses in the order of their known or approximate dates:—

Stoke d'Abernon, Surrey, 1277, Sir John Daubernoun.

Trumpington, Cambs., 1289, Sir Roger de Trumpington.

Buslingthorpe, Lincs., *circa* 1290, Sir Richard de Boselyngthorpe.

Croft, Lincs., *c.* 1300, a man in armour.

Acton, Suffolk, 1302, Sir Robert de Bures.

Chartham, Kent, 1306, Sir Robert de Setvans.

Trotton, Sussex, *c.* 1310, Margarete de Camoys.

Merton College, Oxford, *c.* 1310, Rich. de Hakebourne, priest.

York Minster, 1315, Archbishop Wm. de Grenefeld.

Pebmarsh, Essex, *c.* 1320, a knight of the Fitzralph family.

Gorleston, Suffolk, *c.* 1320, a knight of the Bacon family.

Cobham, Kent, *c.* 1320, Joan de Cobham.

Woodchurch, Kent, *c.* 1320, Nichol de Gore, priest.

Chinnor, Oxon., *c.* 1320, head of priest in cross.

Sedgefield, Durham, *c.* 1320, a lady.

Westley Waterless, Cambs., *c.* 1325, Sir John de Creke and wife.

East Wickham, Kent, *c.* 1325, John de Bladigdone and wife.

Stoke d'Abernon, Surrey, 1327, Sir John Daubernoun.

Minster in Sheppey, Kent, *c.* 1330, Sir John de Northwode and wife.

These early brasses are all of extreme importance, and will require to be dealt with at some length.

Sir John Daubernoun the elder lies upon the pavement of the village church of Stoke d'Abernon, halfway between Kingston and Guildford, and is represented by a fine life-sized figure, measuring 68 inches from heels to head, with a total length of 76 inches. He is dressed in a complete suit of chain mail, of which the separate parts, hawberk, coif de mailles, and chausses, are not distinguishable. The gloves show a leather strap encircling the wrist. The knees are also protected by genouillières, either of leather or metal, stamped or chased with a bold pattern, and single-pointed prick spurs are buckled round the ankles. Over the mail is worn a long linen surcoat, confined at the waist by a plain cord, and with the lower part open in front and exposing the knees. A small heater-shaped shield, charged with the wearer's arms, *azure, a chevron or*, is suspended upon the left shoulder by an ornamental guige or strap buckled on the right side. The cross-hilted sword, in a plain scabbard, is attached to a broad hip-belt in front of the body. In this brass alone a lance is placed on the knight's right arm, with a fringed pennon, charged, like the shield, with his heraldic chevron.



SIR JOHN DAUBER-
NOUN, 1277
STOKE D'ABERNON,
SURREY

Substantially this is the armour which had been worn during the past three centuries, and it is particularly fortunate to the student of brasses that his examples begin at such a time, on the eve of a long series of rapid and interesting changes, which end only with the total abandonment of armour.

The linen surcoat was a recent addition; the mail itself,

worn over a padded and quilted gambeson, was the panoply of the Norman Conquest, the Crusades, and the Angevin Dominion. Changes were soon to come in the form of additional defences of leather and plate, but these are heralded only by the *genouillières* attached to the knees.

The development of armour is very clearly and sufficiently shown in the next half-score of examples. Their number, as compared with the stone effigies of the time, is no doubt small. It is, however, thoroughly representative. Each one has been illustrated, not once, but many times, and is therefore familiar to every student—an advantage not to be found when we enter upon succeeding periods. Sir John Daubernoun the elder, for instance, has been figured nearly twenty times, Sir Roger de Trumpington and Sir Robert de Bures at least ten times each, and the rest almost as often.

All are life-size, or nearly so, with the exception of the two Lincolnshire examples, which are small demi-figures set in large stone slabs, and surrounded by border inscriptions in Lombardic capitals. No dates are given, and it is possible that the Buslingthorpe brass, which is of the earlier character of the two, may indeed precede even that of Sir John Daubernoun, and take rank at the head of the entire list. Various dates have been suggested by different writers, from 1280, "or earlier," to 1310. As the brass is here illustrated, not alone, but with the whole of its interesting coffin-shaped slab, it will be possible for the reader to judge for himself. The form is certainly an early one, and can hardly be later than the year 1290. The small object in the hands of the knight appears to be a heart, and it will be noticed that a shield-of-arms was placed immediately below the demi-figure. The slab and brass were discovered buried in the year 1707, and are now reared against the south wall of the nave. Sir Richard is represented in hawberk and coif of chain-mail, gloves of very small, overlapping plates, like fish-scales, a surcoat, and plain ailettes upon the shoulders. The Croft brass is certainly later,



SIR RICHARD DE BOSELYNGTHORPE, CIRCA 1290
BUSLINGTHORPE, LINCOLNSHIRE

by perhaps about ten years, and is set in a full-sized slab of Purbeck marble, now much broken, upon the nave pavement. The lettering around the margin is very defaced, and there seem to have been evangelistic symbols at the corners. The knight wears banded instead of chain mail, and has no ailettes.

The cross-legged effigy of Sir Roger de Trumpington is more important. Here we see again the above-mentioned and curious ailettes, being ornamental wings of fringed leather. They are in this instance, and usually, charged with the arms of the wearer. Here also we see, for the first time, the great helm, not worn upon the head, but used as a pillow. It seems to have been introduced only during the reign of Richard I., and was generally carried at the saddle bow, except at the moment of actual onset. Lest it should be dropped or struck off and lost, it was secured by a chain, which is seen fastened to the cord which girds Sir Roger's surcoat. His coat-of-arms, *azure, crusuly and two trumpets in pale or*, appears no less than seven times—first upon the shield on his left arm, then on the ailettes, and four times on the scabbard of his sword. On the ailettes and scabbard it is differenced by a label of five points. The brass is let into a slab of Purbeck marble on an altar-tomb between the north aisle and a chapel on the north side of it, in Trumpington Church, which is close to Cambridge. Over the tomb rises an ogee arch of masonry, much enriched with semi-quatrefoils and foliage. It is known that in the year 1270 this knight assumed the cross and accompanied Prince Edward to the Holy Land. So far as can be ascertained, he is the only crusader who is commemorated by a monumental brass.

Sir Robert de Bures, at Acton, the finest military figure in the entire list of the brasses of all periods, is distinguished by the excellent way in which all the details are carried out. The chain-mail is most carefully engraved, and the fringed surcoat is slightly gathered over the elaborate sword-belt, as well as confined at the waist by a cord. The hilt and pommel

of the sword are highly decorative, but the distinguishing features, and those which show the development of costume, are to be found at and around the knees. Below the skirt of the mail hawberk are seen the gamboised, or padded and quilted trews, called "*cuisseaux gamboisez*," which cover the chausses from the knee upwards; this garment, having its surface usually of silk, or other costly material, is here richly embroidered with the fleur-de-lys, and an ornament resembling in shape the Greek lyre, disposed alternately in lozenges, formed by the reticulation of silken cords. The handsome knee-pieces were probably made of "*cuir-bouilli*," or boiled leather. The shield resembles that of Sir Roger de Trumpington, and is charged with the arms of De Bures. *Ermine, on a chief indented sable, 3 lioncels rampant or.* The inscription was in separate letters of brass, all of which are gone; but where the stone has not been too much chipped and worn, they may still be deciphered. At least, the name, ROBERTVS DE BVERS, is legible, or was so in Cotman's time, and he gave or suggested the greater part of the rest: "Yci gyst Sir Robert de Buers . . . Qui pur l'alme pryera . . . jours de pardon avera."

The Chartham knight is bareheaded, with his coif de mailles thrown back, while his mail gloves hang down from his wrists and show the buttoned cuffs of his tunic sleeves beneath. Again the knees claim special attention, for here small scalloped plates are fastened to quilted *cuisseaux*, and the edge is seen of a haqueton, the padded garment worn under the hawberk. His shield and ailettes upon the shoulders are charged with the winnowing-fans from which he takes his name, and small fans are also embroidered upon his surcoat. The scabbard of his sword is wholly ornamented. It is curious to note that the engraving of the chain mail in this brass was never completed, except for a few inches at the right instep. The rest of the mail is sketched out, but not finished. It is possible that the proper cutting of all the



SIR ROBERT DE SETVANS, 1306
CHARTHAM, KENT

little links proved too laborious and expensive a task. The grandfather of this knight, who died in 1249, was present with Richard I. at Acre ; but Sir Robert himself does not appear to have joined the crusade, though there is record of his having repeatedly performed good service to his sovereign at home. The last occasion was at the siege of Caerlaverock, in 1300, at which siege John de Northwode, whose brass is at Minster, received knighthood from Edward I. The king had made a raid over the Scotch border into Annandale and Galloway, with 2000 horse and 9000 foot, and Caerlaverock, just north of Solway Firth, held out against him for forty days, garrisoned by only eighty men, who at last were forced to surrender. It was a great occasion in the annals of chivalry. There is said to be a striking similarity in design and general treatment exhibited between the Chartham brass and a sculptured effigy in the Temple Church, probably that of William Lord de Ros, who died in 1317 ; also with the effigy of Brian Lord Fitz-Alan, 1302, in Bedale Church, Yorkshire.

The effigies at Pebmarsh, which is a small village near Halstead, and at Gorleston, on the Suffolk coast next to Yarmouth, take us into the reign of Edward II., and have both been assigned to the approximate date of 1320. Both were originally ornamented with canopies, which have entirely disappeared, and both figures are mutilated, the latter having lost the lower part of the legs and of the feet. Indeed, in the year 1810, the Gorleston brass had altogether gone, and was supposed to be irretrievably lost ; but at the sale of Mr. Craven Ord's curiosities—the Craven Ord whose collection of brass-prints is in the British Museum—it was purchased by John Gage, Esq., who with correct feeling and good taste gave it back to the church, and Dawson Turner, Esq., at his expense, had it replaced in its original position. It is very uncertain for what individual the monument was intended. Arms are engraved upon the knight's shield, *A bend lozengy, on a chief two mullets of 6 points pierced.* Taking the field

to be *gules*, the chief *argent*, and the mullets *sable*, these would be of the family of Bacon, if it were not for the bend lozengy, though it may have been merely added to the other bearings. It is also said that the feet once rested on a boar's head, which was the Bacon crest. There was also at one time a large companion slab, now destroyed, on which there had formerly been the brass effigy of a lady, with an inscription in separate letters round the edge. A few only were legible, but it seems to have commemorated a certain Joan Bacon.

The beginnings of a great development now appear in the addition of pieces of plate armour. In course of time plate was entirely to take the place of the mail of the crusaders, but the change, like most other changes, was a gradual one. Both in the Pebmarsh and Gorleston brasses we find that the outsides of the upper and fore arms are protected by steel plates strapped over the mail, small elbow-pieces are also attached, and round plates are fastened in front of the shoulders and at the bend of the arms. Their technical names respectively are *rerebraces*, *vambraces*, *coudières*, and *palettes* or *roundels*. Shin-plates are also found, called *jambarts*, and these are continued from the ankles by *lames*, or small plates riveted to one another, over the front of the feet, and thus forming mixed *sollerets* of mail and plate.

The Pebmarsh example is the finer of the two, and here the *genouillères* are particularly handsome, being engraved with a large rose and circle of leaves. The shield is rounded to the body, while that of the Gorleston knight is heater-shaped, and very small. Both are charged with the bearer's arms. The latter's mail is of the banded variety, and *ailettes* upon his shoulders appear for the last time.

The Trumpington, Acton, Chartham, Pebmarsh, and Gorleston knights are all cross-legged, and the first of them is known to have proceeded to the Holy Land. Of the rest nothing can be said with certainty, and, as has been noted, the last two have not been positively identified. But the

crossing of the legs need not indicate more than that the knight was a benefactor of the church, either by some conspicuous act of piety, such as going upon a pilgrimage or joining in crusade, or by a benefaction in church-building, or the foundation of a place or object of religion.

The feet of all the figures, except the Gorleston knight, rest upon, or rather against, either a lion or a hound, and it must be remembered that they are in all cases supposed to be recumbent, as in the stone effigies of the period, and never standing, as sometimes happens at a much later date.

Three more military brasses, at the close of the period, remain as the sole representatives of a still further development, and, indeed, of an almost distinct style, associated with the close of the reign of Edward II.

Its most important feature is this, that the surcoat has been discarded, and its place taken by a garment called the cyclas, which is slit open at the sides, and much shorter at the front than behind. It thus displays the escalloped and fringed border of another body-covering, the gambeson, and below this the edge of the hawberk, and below this again the padded haqueton, a combination of dress, armour, and padding, which must have been exceedingly irksome to the wearer. The hands are bare, and the hawberk sleeves short and wide, disclosing the fore-arms entirely encased in vambraces of plate, underneath, instead of over, the mail. The upper arms and elbows have demi-brassarts and coudières as before, over the mail. On the head appears for the first time a steel bascinet or cap-piece, which is fluted, and has at its apex a quatrefoil device, apparently intended for the attachment of a scarf or crest.

All these changes are admirably depicted in the brasses of Sir John de Creke, at Westley Waterless, *c.* 1325, and of Sir John Daubernoun the younger, 1327, and may advantageously be compared with the stone effigies of John of Eltham, brother of Edward III., in Westminster Abbey, Sir John d'Ifield, at Ifield, in Sussex, and Humphrey de Bohun,



SIR JOHN DE CREKE AND HIS WIFE ALYNE, c. 1325
WESTLEY WATERLESS, CAMBRIDGESHIRE

Earl of Hereford and Constable of England, 1321, in Hereford Cathedral.

Special attention is drawn to the illustration of the Westley Waterless brass, and its two slim and interesting figures. It lies in the south aisle of the nave, and once possessed a double canopy with ogee pediments, and a marginal inscription on narrow fillets of metal. The arms of Sir John de Creke are given in Foster's *Feudal Coats of Arms* as being *Or, on a fess sable, 3 lozenges vair*. But very little seems to be known of the personality of the knight himself.

The brass of Sir John de Northwode, at Minster, in Sheppey, differs a little from the others. His bascinet is pointed, but without fluting or device, and his forearms below the hawberk are protected by curious pieces of close-fitting scale-armour. His shield hangs at his left hip, instead of on his arm, and as this mode of wearing the shield appears to have been a characteristic of the knights of France, by whom it was termed "Ecu en cantiel," a French origin has been suggested for this particular brass. A remarkably fine effigy accoutred in the same way is preserved at St. Denis, and illustrated in vol. i. of Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations*: it commemorates Charles, Conte d'Etampes, who fell, in the thirtieth year of his age, at the Siege of Pinorain, in 1336. This knight, a prince of the blood royal of France, is armed completely in ring-mail; his head is unhelmed, and his flowing hair is encircled by a wreath of roses; the coif-de-mailles hangs loose about his neck, and the mail gloves also depend from the wrists, exactly as in the brass of Sir Robert de Setvans. The surcoat is long and plain, and girded about the waist by a narrow cincture. Over the hips is buckled a broad and rich sword-belt, and a long guige, corresponding with it in breadth and enrichment, crosses the right shoulder, and is attached to the shield, which is adjusted over the hilt of the sword precisely after the fashion exemplified in the brass at Minster. It is impossible not to be struck with the similarity in artistic treatment exhibited between this



SIR JOHN DE NORTHWODE, c. 1330
MINSTER, ISLE OF SHEPPEY

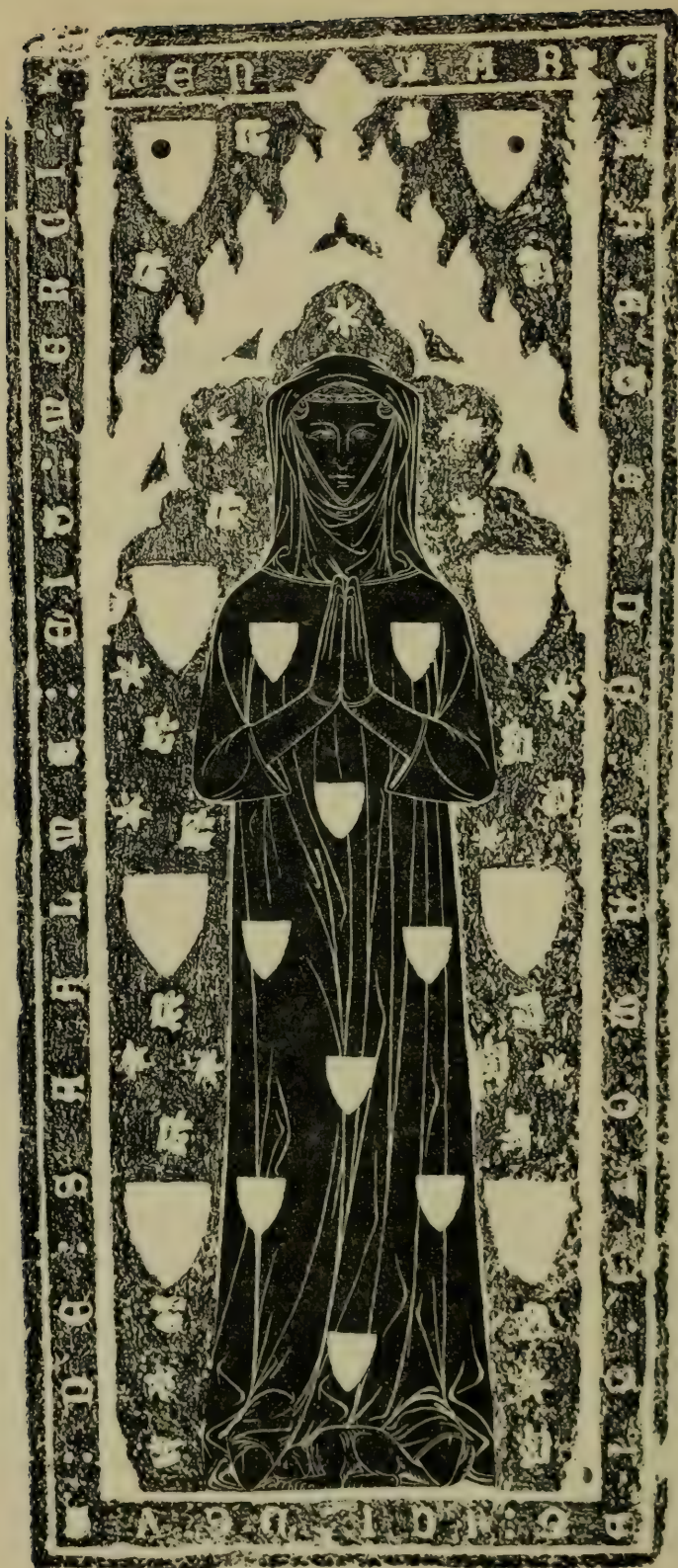
fine effigy, the brasses at Chartham and Minster, and the sculptured figures in the Temple and at Bedale. The Minster brass has, however, been strangely treated. In or about the year 1511, the legs and feet having been lost, new ones were engraved, with very incongruous effect. At the same time a strip was cut out of the middle to make the knight correspond in length with his lady, who now lies beside him. But this has been restored in modern times.

The military brasses have necessarily occupied much of our attention during this early period, standing easily first, as they do, in date, numbers, and importance.

The earliest lady is Margarete de Camoys, represented in her brass at Trotton, in Sussex, of which an illustration is given. In its original condition the brass was a very fine one, for the stone slab shows matrices of a cusped and crocketed canopy with side shafts and pinnacles, eight shields of arms, and a border inscription in Lombardic characters; there were also thirty-one small stars and other devices inserted at vacant spaces within and above the canopy. The life-sized figure of the lady alone remains. She wears a loose-fitting robe with short sleeves, showing below them the sleeves of her kirtle, tightly buttoned to the wrist. Her head and neck are covered with a veil and wimple, which muffle her to the chin, and she has an ornamented fillet across the forehead, below which are two short side-curls. The nine small blank shields upon the robe were separately inserted, and probably made with coloured enamels, fired in copper trays.

Joan de Cobham, *c.* 1320, is the next lady, and her dress, with the exception of the heraldic ornaments, is precisely the same. Her canopy remains, the earliest specimen known to be in existence in a monumental brass. Its arch takes the form of a demi-quatrefoil, with a straight-sided pediment, with open-leaf crockets and handsome finial. Side pinnacles rise from a pair of elegant and slender shafts.

The lady at Sedgefield was discovered in 1876 beneath



MARGARETE DE CAMOYS, c. 1310
TROTTON, SUSSEX

a pew, and is only 11 inches in height, kneeling, and attired in veil and wimple, her robe girded with a plain band, and gathered over the left arm. There are two small copper shields of early form, with traces of red enamel.

The effigies of Lady de Creke and Lady de Northwode accompany those of their lords, already described. Each exhibits a certain peculiarity of dress. The former wears a long mantle, fastened across the breast by a short cord, and gathered up under the left arm. The latter has a hooded surcoat in the French fashion, provided with side openings through which the arms pass, and turned back in front so as to show the lining of vair, or variegated fur. A stiff wimple covers the neck and throat, but the head is bare, and the hair plaited on either side of the face. It rests upon a handsome diapered cushion, which once again emphasizes the recumbent position.

The only remaining lady of this period is the little demi-figure of Maud de Bladigdone, at East Wickham, and she is similarly dressed, in veil and wimple, kirtle, and sleeveless mantle. But the brass of which she forms a part is a notable one, and her husband has the distinction of being the earliest civilian of a long series. He wears a close-fitting tunic, buttoned down the front, with tight sleeves extending from the elbows in long lappets, or liripipes, and a tippet over his shoulders. He has a small forked beard. His figure and that of his wife are placed in the head of a graceful octofoil cross, furnished with cusps and finials, and having a slender stem inscribed with their names. Most of the cross had disappeared in the course of time, but the missing parts were carefully restored as a memorial of Queen Victoria's Jubilee, in 1887, and the whole placed against the south wall of the church. Three other cross-brasses are referred to the period, of varying but beautiful designs, at Merton College, Chinnor, and Woodchurch. Originally, these engraved crosses constituted, perhaps, the most numerous class of brasses; their despoiled matrices may often be seen, and sometimes in slabs



JOAN DE NORTHWODE, c. 1330
MINSTER, ISLE OF SHEPPEY

of immense size. They were usually placed upon the graves of ecclesiastics, and the three just mentioned, which survive in a mutilated condition, are all connected with the memorials of priests.

Richard de Hakebourne, in Merton College chapel, was rector of Wolford, in Warwickshire, and his fine half-effigy in eucharistic vestments is placed at the intersection of a large floriated cross, as though resting upon it. The large finials



NICHOL DE GORE, PRIEST, *c.* 1320
WOODCHURCH, KENT

and the stem have long since disappeared, as have also the letters of the Lombardic inscription at the margin of the slab.

At Chinnor the stem and marginal inscription are similarly lost, but the floriated arms of the cross remain. In this case the head only of the priest is shown, with the embroidered apparel of his amice.

The Woodchurch cross is of a different type, and contains within a quatrefoiled circle the full-length priest in eucharistic vestments, the arms of the cross terminating in bold fleurs-de-lys, with a Lombardic inscription engraved upon the circle. But see below, p. 79.

One other brass of the first importance has still to be mentioned, that of Wm. de Grenefeld, Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor, who died in 1315, and was buried in the minster. The original design included a figure of the archbishop in full vestments under a rich canopy, with side-shafts containing figures of saints in niches, and a marginal inscription enclosing the whole. Only the upper part of the figure now remains, and the stone is so decayed that but little of the outline of the missing parts can be traced. The brass lies on a high tomb under a fine stone canopy, and about 18 inches are lost from a total length of 68 inches, the lower portion having been stolen by workmen about the year 1829.

The episcopal vestments will be more particularly described in the chapter devoted to Ecclesiastical Brasses. The archbishop's right hand is raised in benediction, and his left holds the cross, of which the head is gone. To its staff is attached the vexillum, or banner. As in the case of all the early figures, Archbishop Grenefeld is represented with profusely curled hair.

APPENDIX (I)

THE ENGRAVERS

IF we are to consider the designing of monumental brasses to be a distinct art, and the carrying out of their engraving a distinct handicraft, it follows that we shall desire to know something of the designers and engravers.

The average number of existing figure-brasses rises from not quite three per annum in the latter half of the fourteenth century, to ten per annum during the fifteenth century, and fourteen per annum throughout the sixteenth; after this, and down to the year 1642, there are still ten brasses per annum, but in that year they came abruptly to an end. Only some forty more brasses are recorded, ranging from 1643 to 1775.

But existing brasses represent only a small proportion, perhaps but a tenth part, of those originally laid down. Plain inscriptions, without figures, are, and were, more numerous still, and it may be reckoned that from first to last about 150,000 brasses were placed in our churches. Continuous employment, lasting for 350 years, was thus afforded to many designers and workmen, and it is remarkable that there is no proof that they ever formed a distinct guild, like the men of other trades, though they may perhaps have been included amongst the coppersmiths.

The figure of Lady Creke at Westley Waterless, already described, bears indeed an engraver's mark near the lower edge of the dress, and of course in an inconspicuous position. Within a small circle is to be seen the letter N reversed, with a mallet, a crescent, and a star. But the star and crescent were ordinary badges of handicraft, and there is nothing to show that this was more than the private mark and initial of a particular engraver. The same initial, again reversed, is found on the brass of Thomas Lord Camoys and his lady at Trotton, Sussex, 1419, cut upon the right hand base of the canopy.

From the very beginning both artists and engravers seem to have been almost exclusively English, notwithstanding that their material was imported from abroad. In design and workmanship alike the brasses of England differ from foreign examples, which, when they occur, may be recognized at once. For, as every rule has its exceptions, so in brasses foreign work is occasionally met with. And such foreign brasses form a distinct class, to be dealt with in a separate chapter. And yet there are certain brasses where a foreign influence may be suspected, on account of peculiarities of style, which do not admit of a ready explanation. Such are the knights at Chart-ham in Kent, and Minster in the Isle of Sheppey, or the early priest at Horsmonden in the same county. These have been thought to be French, and there is probability in the suggestion, but no certainty, since only about half a dozen brasses of late date have survived in

the whole of France. The chief characteristics are flowing lines, and a freer treatment than is usual; while at Minster the knight's shield is carried at his hip instead of upon the shoulder, as has been already pointed out.

It has been said that no two brasses are exactly alike. There is, nevertheless, often a great similarity between brasses of the same style and period, although geographically they may lie far apart. This is probably because there may have been some one especially famous workshop, particularly during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, where brasses were engraved, and which supplied memorials for all parts of the country. Probably, again, this would have been in London. At any rate, there is always a normal type, and when brasses are found to differ greatly from it, they may generally be referred to local artists. Undoubtedly there were regular provincial schools of engravers in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire at an early period, and later in Norfolk, Suffolk, and other counties, and it sometimes seems to be possible even to trace the work of a particular artist.

Copper-plate engraving is said by the sixteenth-century painter and historian Vasari to have been invented at about the year 1460 by Maso Finiguerra, a goldsmith of Florence, and some few brasses of late date were probably produced from the workshops of the goldsmiths, and of the engravers of copper-plates for books. The subject, however, is obscure, and, as a matter of fact, little is known either of the artists or of the engravers of monumental brasses. We see an art which lives, grows, and decays, and is at all periods full of interest. And yet the men employed in it have left scarcely a trace of their own personality.

It is not, indeed, until the seventeenth century, and the reign of Charles I., and later, when the ancient art was drawing to its ignominious end, that we get such a thing as a signed brass at all. Then, from 1629 to 1694, there come a number of such signatures, chiefly upon inscriptions, and more particularly by the engravers of York and Yorkshire. Thus the name "Gabr. Hornbie" appears at Nunkeeling in the East Riding in 1629, and "Fr. Griggs" upon brasses at St. Osyth's, Essex, 1640, Upton Cresset, Salop., 1640, and Bradfield, Yorks., 1647. "Robert Thorpe in Sheffield the carver" signed two inscriptions at Darley, in Derbyshire, in 1654; and "Richard Mosok" another at Ormskirk, Lancashire, in 1661. Examples by Thomas Mann, of York, appear at Lowthorpe, E.

Riding, 1665; Normanton, W. Riding, 1668; Helmsley, N. Riding, 1671; Ingleby Arncliffe, N. Riding, 1674; and Rudstone, E. Riding, 1677. A Thomas Mann, of Lendall Street, York, architect, by will dated November 27, 1680, and proved in the following March, gives to his brother, Joshua Mann, "all such tooles of mine as he now worketh with." Plates signed by J. Mann occur in York at St. Michael-le-Belfry, 1680 and 1683; St. Michael Spurriergate, 1681; and at Bedale in the N. Riding, 1681. In one case, St. Sampson, York, 1680, the Christian name Joshua is given in full. It may therefore be fairly assumed that Thomas Mann, architect, and his brother Joshua, are responsible for these signed plates, and that they combined the profession of architect with the business of brass-engraving.

In addition to these northern examples, the maker's name, "Edmund Colpeper," is placed upon a brass at Pimperne, Dorset, 1694; and at the Gwydir Chapel, Llanrwst, Denbighshire, where there are a number of finely executed busts, some are signed, the portrait of Lady Mary Mostyn, 1658, being by "Silvanus Crue," and that of Lady Sarah Wynne, 1671, by "William Vaughan." In Kent, "Ed. Marshall" signs in 1638 at East Sutton; and in Oxfordshire, "George Harris" at Deddington, in 1660.

APPENDIX (2)

THE ENAMELLERS

COLOUR was commonly used in finishing many of the more elaborate brasses, and traces of it sometimes remain. The usual method employed was to cut away the surface of the brass, leaving a slightly lowered and cross-hatched bed in which the colour could be inserted, and to which it would adhere. Such surfaces are found upon the sword-belts of military figures, the under-sides of ladies' mantles, the tippetts and almuces of ecclesiastics, and elsewhere, and are recognized in rubbings by the white spaces left upon the paper. Garments or linings of fur were thus represented, and it is doubtful what material was actually used. Sometimes it seems to have been lead, sometimes perhaps plaster of Paris. Where red was required, as upon belts and ornaments, an earth or plaster fulfilled the purpose. In heraldry

colour was a necessity, and therefore in military jupons and tabards charged with the wearer's arms, and ladies' heraldic mantles and kirtles, we find the surfaces similarly cut away. Gold alone was represented by the brass itself, and by this clue—the one invariable metal—it is often possible to identify a coat which, having lost its colours, would otherwise be unrecognizable.

Enamel was occasionally used, and it is thought that the famous enamels of Limoges should be connected closely with the origin and with the history of brasses. Limoges Enamels were made at some considerable time before brasses came into use, having been introduced into western Europe by the Venetians at the close of the tenth century. Their production was always very costly, and remains so to the present day, the enamel being worked upon small plates of copper, often but a few inches in length, and fired in the oven by a series of difficult and more or less secret processes. The town of Limoges, in central France, from which they take their name, is well known as the birthplace of the greatest masters in the art, which seems to have flourished there in the twelfth century, and reached its culminating period in the sixteenth. Nearly all the provincial museums of France contain interesting examples, usually in the form of small oblong or oval plaques, for altar-pieces, reliquaries, or other religious and secular ornament. It is seldom that they were used for memorials of the dead, the most famous example being a large plaque of *champlevé* enamel, about 24 by 12 inches, said to represent Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, father of Henry II. of England, and founder of the Plantagenet line. It originally adorned a tomb at St. Julien-du-Pré in Le Mans, and is now preserved in the municipal museum of that city, in the Préfecture which was once part of the Abbaye de la Couture. The enamelled effigy rests upon a diapered background, beneath a semi-circular canopy, with an inscription at the top. The colours are divided by ridges of copper, which are indicated by the term *champlevé*, just used. Geoffrey Plantagenet died in 1150, but it should be added that the memorial has been otherwise assigned to William Devereux or Fitzpatrick, Earl of Salisbury, *c.* 1196, or to some unknown noble. It has been often illustrated, as, for instance, in Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*, Planché's *Cyclopædia of Costume*, and, later, by Joseph Foster, 1902, in *Some Feudal Coats of Arms*. Similar monuments are said to have existed in other French churches, but were universally destroyed in the religious wars or during the

Revolution. In the combination of effigy, diapered background, canopy, and inscription, we have certainly a forecast of the form taken by the great foreign brasses of two centuries later.

Enamels, however, are small, and coloured brasses large, and it is obvious that the latter could not often have passed through the furnaces used for enamelling. If they had done so, the enamel, thoroughly burnt in, would have remained in a more or less perfect condition to the present time. This is actually the case as regards the blue enamel upon the shield of Sir John Daubernoun in 1277, and in a few other brasses, such as that of Sir John Say and his two heraldically dressed ladies in 1473, at Broxbourne, Herts. In the vast majority of formerly coloured brasses the colour has completely perished, pointing to the fact that not costly enamel, but common beeswax, earths and plasters were the materials used.

Occasionally real enamel shields were separately prepared, and then inserted into brasses. This was probably done, for example, in the brass of Margarete de Camoys, *c.* 1310, at Trotton, Sussex, illustrated on p. 28, where nine little 3-inch shields, long since lost, were let into sockets cut upon her robe.

Enamelled metal is found, with all its colours in nearly perfect condition, upon the tomb of William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, 1296, in the chapel of St. Edmund in Westminster Abbey. Here thin plates of latten, beaten into shape, are riveted upon a wooden effigy, so that the figure has the appearance of being clothed in actual armour. Similar effigies are found in a few other churches, but have been robbed of their metal. De Valence alone remains, and even his tomb has suffered much spoliation. Thirty little statues of mourners, which once decorated the sides, have completely disappeared, and the wooden case in which the body lies has been stripped bare of most of its enamelled ornaments. The great shield is a particularly fine specimen of *champlevé* enamel work, and is still perfect, exhibiting the De Valence arms, *Barrulée argent and azure, an orle of martlets gules*, with no less than twenty-eight bars. A pillow on which the head of the effigy rests is also richly enamelled, as were the other parts of this beautiful memorial. It was possibly made by one Magister Johannes Limovicensis, who had been employed to construct the tomb and effigy, now despoiled, of Walter de Merton, Bishop of Rochester. The earl had resided much at different times in the town of Limoges, and his son Aymer, who

erected the monument, had therefore special reason to employ the enamellers. The importance of the man and of the tomb is shown by the fact that an indulgence of one hundred days was granted to those who should there pray for his soul.

APPENDIX (3)

INSCRIPTIONS

THE earliest inscriptions are usually in the French language, very simple, and placed round the margin of the slab in Lombardic or Uncial characters. Every letter was a separate piece of brass, sunk into its own casement, and these frail letters have almost invariably perished. It is, nevertheless, often easy to decipher an inscription from the matrices alone. Thus we have the inscription round the brass of Sir John Daubernoun, a typical instance of many which follow it: "SIRE : IOHN : DAVBERNOVN : CHIVALER : GIST : ICY : DEV : DE : SA : ALME : EYT : MERCY."

No date is given, but merely the name and a prayer for mercy. The words commence above the head of the effigy with a cross. They are separated by dots, and are read from the centre of the slab. Similarly at Buslingthorpe, of which an illustration is given: "ISSY . GYT . SIRE . RYCHARD . LE . FIZ . SIRE . IOHN . DE . BOSELYNGTHORP . DEL . ALME . DE . KY . DEVS . EVT . MERCI."

The forms of words are often archaic, but are easy enough to translate. Thus, there is little difficulty in discovering that the "KY" in the latter inscription is merely "qui" written phonetically, a method, or want of method, commonly employed in French inscriptions as well as later in English.

Latin, on the contrary, for we have the three languages to deal with, is in most cases accurately spelt, though a difficulty arises from the habit of arbitrarily contracting many of the words.

French inscriptions prevail throughout the fourteenth century, and are still occasionally found at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Latin may be said to be the common language of the fifteenth century, and English of the sixteenth. But inscriptions to ecclesiastics are almost invariably in Latin at all periods.

The first English inscription appears at Brightwell Baldwin, Oxon, c. 1370, the brass being a plain inscription-plate without figures. It consists of seven rhyming clauses written in four lines:—

“ Man com & se how schal alle dede be :
 Wen yow comes bad & bare |
 Noth hab ven ve away fare :
 All ys ozermēs y^t ve for care : |
 Bot y^t ve do for godysluf ve haue nothyng yare.
 Hundyr | yis graue lys John ye smyth
 God yif his soule heuen grit.”

Wanlip, in Leicestershire, has an inscription in English prose, of the date 1393, to Sir Thos. Walsch and Dame Katherine his wife, “whiche in her tyme made the Kirke of Anlep and halud the kirk-yard first in wurchup of God & oure Ladye & seynt Nicholas.”

The next century, in spite of its common language being Latin, gives a large number of English inscriptions, which are in many cases of great interest, since they help to point to the development and growth of the language.

It will be remembered that Chaucer was writing from 1360–1400. The *Canterbury Tales* were begun after his first visits to Italy, and its best stories were written between 1384 and 1391. Already, in 1362, English had been ordered to be used in the courts of law, and in the following year it was employed by the Chancellor in opening Parliament. The *Vision of Piers the Ploughman* was issued in 1380, the year before the Peasant Revolt. Wycliffe's Bible was under revision at the time of his death in 1384, and by the year 1385 the grammar schools had begun to teach in English instead of French. The English language was being settled into a familiar shape, and no little interest therefore attaches to the monumental inscriptions of this period and those which immediately follow. A long series of examples might easily be given, but it is enough here to point the way.

But inscriptions differ in type as much as in language. And where the date is omitted or lost, it is by the character of the type that it can often be supplied. The earliest in use is the Lombardic, with broad and well-formed letters, at first, as we have seen, cut separately and inserted in the stone, and afterwards upon narrow but continuous fillets of brass. The Lombardic type prevailed in the thirteenth and early part of the fourteenth centuries.

Black-letter or Old English characters followed, and this type falls into three subdivisions. (1) Early black-letter, of the fourteenth century; the letters are rounded, easily read, and show the influence of the Lombardic which went before. (2) Straight black-letter, of the fifteenth century, where the characters are largely composed of straight lines, and are often extremely difficult to read. (3) Tudor black-letter, of the sixteenth century, in which the letters are again rounded, and are more ornamental and fanciful than before, and altogether better.

Roman capitals came into general use in the seventeenth century. Ornamental devices are sometimes introduced between the words of border inscriptions, especially in the fifteenth century. These devices generally consist of leaves and animals, as at Deerhurst, Glos., 1400, in the brass figured on p. 174, and in that of Preb. Codrington at p. 121. Heraldic badges were often introduced in similar positions, as the swan five times in the brass of the Duchess of Gloucester, p. 57, or the bear and the ragged staff, no less than twenty-two and nineteen times in the Warwick inscription described upon p. 65. In some of the best brasses, as those just mentioned, and in the great metal tombs, the letters are often cut in relief, and the work most carefully executed. Nothing could be better done, for instance, than the lettering round the verge of the tomb of Richard II. (cf. p. 61), a perfect model of beautiful type.

Contractions are very commonly met with, more especially in Latin and in black-letter inscriptions. Prefixes such as *pro* and *per* are represented by their initial letter only, either with or without an apostrophe. The letters *n* and *m* are often omitted, but a mark of contraction is usually supplied in the form of a line above the nearest vowel.

Terminations of all kinds are liable to be omitted, especially towards the end of a line, where the remaining space is limited. It takes some experience to read inscriptions correctly when they are much contracted, but the practice can soon be acquired.

The usual place for early inscriptions is in a border about the margin of the slab, upon its plain surface, or, in the case of altar-tombs, in chamfer round the edge. A rectangular plate was soon added beneath the figure, inscribed with verses, and in small brasses the rectangular plate was alone retained, with the ordinary obituary inscription. Short invocations were also sometimes supplied upon

labels issuing from the mouth or from the hands of the person commemorated.

In some instances small detached scrolls are inserted at various places upon a slab, which may be literally *powdered* with them. A remarkable instance occurs at Wiston, Sussex, 1426, where as many as thirty were placed upon the brass of Sir John de Brewys, and bear alternately the words "Jesus" and "Mercy."

The evangelistic symbols are very commonly set at the angles of marginal inscriptions, and are enclosed in small quatrefoils or in roundels. Personal devices, however, or shields of arms, occasionally take the place of the symbols, especially in later brasses. After the Reformation the corners of the fillet are generally left plain. Foot-plates become larger, and their inscriptions more diffuse as time advances, and gradually deteriorate in character and dignity.

APPENDIX (4)

THE BEGINNINGS OF ENGLISH HERALDRY

COATS-OF-ARMS were in constant use in connection with brasses, and add largely to their interest. Most commonly they are engraved upon small shields inserted in their own matrices at the corners of a slab, above the heads of figures, below the plate-inscriptions and groups of children, and within the border fillet, if there should be one. They are also found emblazoned upon pennons and banners, and upon the dress and armour of ladies and knights.

Thus Sir John Daubernoun bears his arms, *azure, a chevron or*, upon his shield, and also upon the pennon of his lance. Sir Roger de Trumpington's shield is emblazoned in like manner—*azure, crusuly and 2 trumpets in pale or*—and also four little shields engraved upon the scabbard of his sword. They are again repeated upon each of his ailettes, but with the addition of a label of five points. Sir Robt. de Setvans' bearings were *azure, 3 winnowing-fans or*. He has them, of course, upon his shield, and also semée upon his surcoat, to the number of five, and two more upon his ailettes.

As soon as jupons were worn over the cuirass they became a vehicle for heraldic display. The ordinary jupon was of leather,

and upon this the wearer's arms were sometimes painted. On great occasions the material was changed to embroidered silk or cloth. A few heraldic jupons are met with, and brasses which display them are often of considerable magnificence. Thus, in Southacre Church, Norfolk, 1384, Sir John Harsyck is represented with arms upon his jupon, *or, a chief sable indented of 4 points*. His lady lies beside him, her right hand resting in his. She was the daughter and sole heir of Sir Bartholomew Calthorpe, knight, of Gestingthorpe, whose father, Sir Bartholomew, married Elizabeth, daughter and sole heir of Sir John de Gestingthorpe, of Essex, and, by reason of his inheritance, assumed the arms of Gestingthorpe, *ermine, a maunche gules*. Lady Harsyck wears these arms embroidered upon her kirtle, impaled with those of her husband. The knight's arms are also repeated on a shield, surmounted by his helmet and crest of turkey's feathers, placed across the top of the stone. This crest Sir John, his father, was allowed to wear by grant from Sir John Camoys, in the 30th Edward III., and he bore it in a hoop or.

Again, in the splendid brasses of Thos. de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and his countess, in 1401, at St. Mary's, Warwick, the jupon is emblazoned with his arms, *gules, a fess between 6 crosses crosslet or*. The kirtle of the countess is embroidered with the arms of Ferrers, *gu., 7 mascles or*, for she was the daughter of Wm. Lord Ferrers, of Groby, while her mantle is ornamented with those of her husband. These heraldic charges in both the figures are all wrought with an elaborate diaper, produced by delicately puncturing the surface of the plate. Moreover the effigy of the earl, besides the flowing pattern of its diapered decoration, is pounced repeatedly with the ragged staff of the house of Warwick; and his feet rest on a chained bear, the other ancient cognizance of his family.

Further examples of heraldic jupons may be seen at Aldborough, Yorks., *c.* 1360, in the brass of Wm. de Aldeburgh; Fletching, Sussex, 1380, in that of a knight of the Dallingridge family and his lady; Playford, Suffolk, 1400, in that of Sir George Felbrigge; Letheringham, Suffolk, *c.* 1400, in that of Sir John Wingfield; and Baginton, Warwick, 1407, in that of Sir Wm. and Lady Bagot.

Tabards of arms, worn over the body armour, came into use at a later period. An early example is to be found at Amberley, Sussex, 1424, and here illustrated. The arms are those of John Wantele, *vert, 3 lion's masks arg. langued gu.*, but the sleeves are left plain.



Hic iacet Johes Wantele. qui obiit. xxix die Januarii
 Anno dñi. millo. CCC. xxix. cui aũt p̄iactur drus.

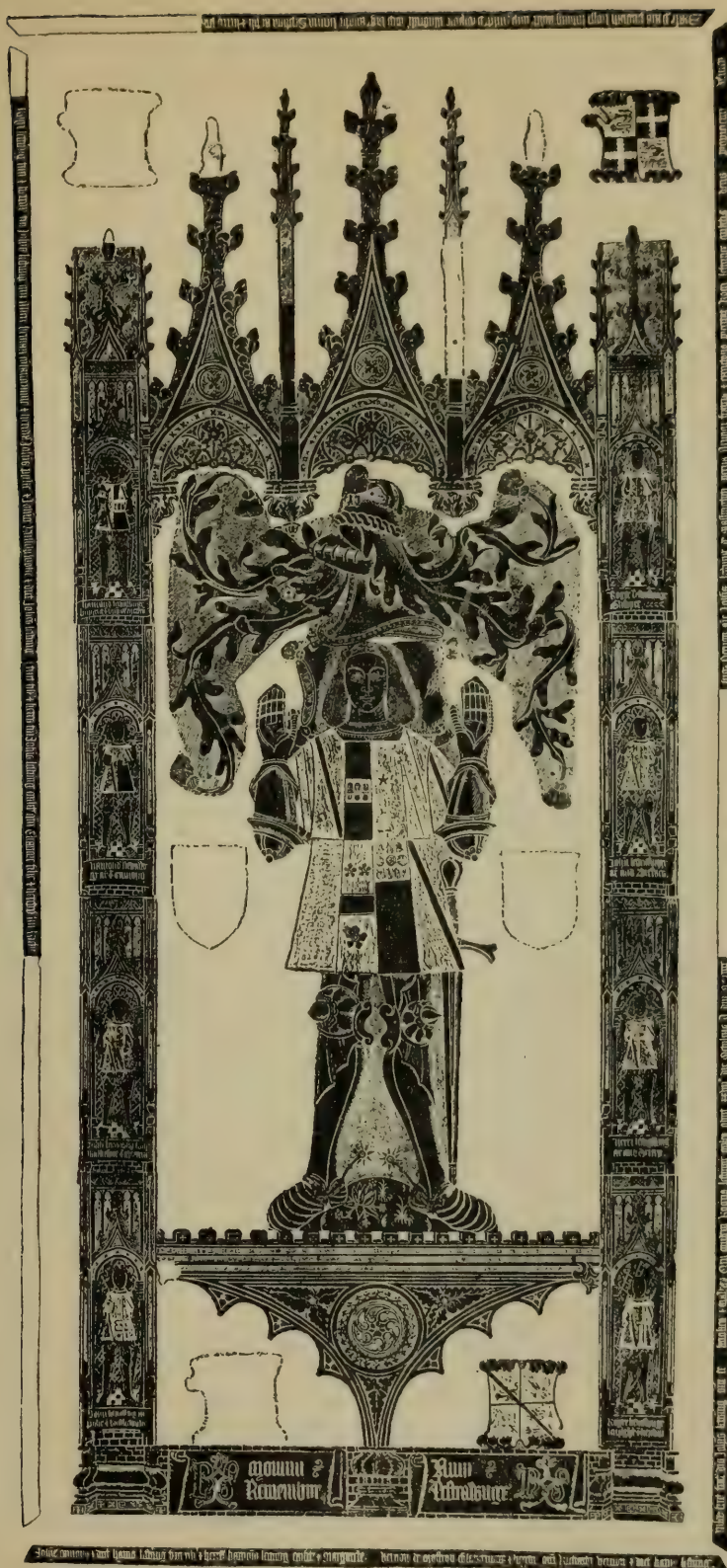
JOHN WANTELE, 1424
 AMBERLEY, SUSSEX

The faces of the lions are expressed in an unusual way, and one rather difficult of execution. Ridges of brass are left, after the manner of a *champlevé* enamel, probably to be filled up with inlaid and silvered lead, which has since perished. This brass is a very small one, and the figure little more than 2 feet in height. Another, and that an admirable specimen of the tabard, occurs in the large and singularly interesting brass of Wm. Fynderne Esq. and Elizth., his wife, at Childrey, Berks., 1444. The head of this knight is bare, and his entire person is enveloped, nearly to the knees, in the embroidered covering to his armour; the arms are *arg.*, *a chevron between 3 crosses pattée-fitchée sable, the chev. differenced of an annulet of the field.* The white field is composed of lead run into casements sunk for its reception in the plate. Elizth. Fynderne is also heraldically dressed, and in her effigy the lead occupies a still larger portion of the composition, the whole of both mantle and kirtle being of that metal, in consequence of the field of her own armorial bearings, as well as that of her husband's, being argent. At her head and hands alone the surface of the brass appears.

From this and other instances it will be noticed that where ladies wear arms embroidered upon their dresses, the husband's arms frequently appear upon the mantle, the lady's own upon the kirtle. When only one garment is emblazoned, the arms will be impaled.

In the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. tabards become very frequent, and are never without interest.

A particularly fine example occurs at Hunstanton, Norfolk, in a brass to the memory of Sir Roger le Strange, 1506. Sir Roger stands, with legs wide apart, upon an architectural bracket, and below an elaborate triple canopy, with helm, crest, and mantling above his head. On his tabard are emblazoned Le Strange, Vernon, Walkefare, Morieux, Pyke, Rushbroke, Camoys, and another. In the niches upon the shafts of the canopy appear eight of his ancestors, all likewise in tabards, and each labelled with his own name. Of six separate shields upon the surface of the slab, two only remain. Eight more are still affixed to the sides and ends of the tomb, of which four bear heraldic coats, and four have each a pair of clasped hands.



SIR ROGER LE STRANGE, 1506
HUNSTANTON, NORFOLK

CHAPTER III

THE GOLDEN AGE OF PLANTAGENET RULE

EDWARD III. 1327-1377

RICHARD II. 1377-1399

WE now approach the best period of brass-engraving, as indeed of many of the mediæval arts; for the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. form in many respects a golden age, in which the arts and crafts flourished to a degree unequalled in the earlier history of England. And yet we must not expect to find much material until after the country had recovered from the terrible ravages of the Black Death, which appeared first in 1348, and devastated the land in the following year. Green tells us that of the three or four millions who then formed the population of England, more than one-half were swept away in its repeated visitations. East Anglia suffered the most severely, and it is to the eastern counties that we look for the finest brasses. In the diocese of Norwich two-thirds of the parishes changed their incumbents, and work came almost to a standstill. But the recovery was quick, and the vigour of English life showed itself in the wide extension of commerce, in the rapid growth of the woollen trade, and the increase of manufactures after the settlement of Flemish weavers on the eastern coast. Wycliffe was an obscure young priest and Chaucer a London school-boy at the time of the Black Death, but few traces of that sad time appear in their writings. Indeed, it is a happy

and prosperous England which appears in the *Canterbury Tales*. Almost every one of the thirty pilgrims who start in a May morning from the Tabard in Southwark may be illustrated from the brasses of the time—the very perfect gentle knight, with his curly-headed squire beside him, and behind them the brown-faced yeoman, in his coat and hood of green; the poor parson, threadbare, learned, and devout; the portly person of the doctor of physic; the busy serjeant-at-law, that ever seemed busier than he was; the hollow-cheeked clerk of Oxford, with his love of books; the merchant; the frankelín, in whose house it snowed of meat and drink; the buxom wife of Bath; the broad-shouldered miller; with the haberdasher, carpenter, weaver, and the like, each in the livery of his craft.

Brasses now become representative of all classes. There are some forty-six clergy of all ranks assigned to the period. The first tradesman or guild-member appears in the person of Nichole de Aumberdene, Fishmonger of London, *c.* 1350, at Taplow, in Bucks., and he is followed by several of the great merchants who traded with Germany and the Low Countries, and whose brasses, engraved by foreign workmen, are amongst the most magnificent in Europe.

The military brasses, however, claim our first attention; and of these a little group of three mutilated examples stand alone to illustrate a period of rapid transition—

Elsing, Norfolk, 1347, Sir Hugh Hastings.

Wimbish, Essex, 1347, Sir John de Wantone.

Bowers Gifford, Essex, 1348, Sir John Giffard.

The first of these is a brass of extreme interest. Its general composition comprises an effigy beneath a canopy of elaborate richness, each side of which consisted of a series of four canopied niches enclosing as many armed figures. Three of these were recently missing, as well as the apex and some other parts of the canopy, and the legs and feet of Sir Hugh

Hastings. The distinguishing cyclas of the last period has now been much shortened, and has a full skirt reaching only to the middle of the thighs, though it is still cut away at the sides. Upon it is embroidered the armorial maunche, or military sleeve, of Hastings, differenced with a label of three points, and this appears also on a small heater-shaped shield worn on the left arm, in both cases richly diapered. A sword-belt hangs loosely over the hips, with the sword on the left side, buckled in front. A hawberk of mail is worn below the cyclas, the haqueton showing at the wrists. Additional defences of plate are buckled upon the arms, rerebraces, and vambraces, with steel roundels below the shoulders and at the elbow-joints. A curiously rounded helmet or bascinet covers the head, with a raised visor attached, while a heavy gorget of plate encircles the neck. The genouillières are armed with sharp spikes, and cuisses of pourpoint work appear for the first time upon the thighs. These were made usually of leather, cuir-bouilli, and studded with small circular plates of steel. From an old impression preserved in the British Museum it is known that the legs below the knee were encased in stockings of chain-mail, without further defence.

The first small figure on the dexter side of the canopy represents King Edward III. crowned, and displaying on his cyclas the arms of France and England quarterly, assumed in 1341, but six years anterior to the date of the brass. Below him is Thomas de Beauchamp, in a bascinet with closed visor, like a bird's beak, and holding a lance with a pennon. On the other side are Henry Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster, bare-headed, and carrying his helm and crest, Ralph Lord Stafford, with closed visor, and Almeric Lord St. Amand, whose head-piece is very singular; it appears to be the chapelle-de-fer, a ridged steel hat with broad rim, worn over the bascinet, and is the only specimen which has been noticed engraved on a brass; indeed, the only other example in a monumental effigy at all occurs in one of the equestrian figures of Aymer de



SIR HUGH HASTINGS, 1347
ELSING, NORFOLK

Valence, on his tomb in Westminster Abbey. The figure of Roger Lord Grey of Ruthyn, long since lost from its place in the brass, was preserved in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, and is now restored to Elsing. It occupied the lowest panel on the dexter side.

In the upper compartment of the canopy, within an octofoiled circle, is a warrior mounted upon a charger with voluminous trappings, trampling down and piercing with his lance a fiend. Probably this is intended for St. George.

The brass at Wimbish is of less importance. A mutilated cross contains within its head the small figures of a knight and lady, the former of whom wears over his armour a skirted garment very like that of Sir Hugh Hastings, whom he resembles in most respects. He has a bascinet and camail with rerebraces and vambraces of plate, but his legs are armed partly in plate and partly in mail.

Sir John Giffard has a suit of banded mail, with fewer pieces of plate ; but his linen coat, though somewhat full in the skirt, is much more like the jupon which was soon to be the distinguishing feature of knightly dress. His head is lost ; his shield, charged with six fleurs-de-lys, small and heater-shaped ; the haqueton appears for the last time.

The Battle of Crecy was fought in 1346, that of Poitiers ten years later. In the interval there began a new style of armour, which continued for more than fifty years with hardly any variation, and of which a very large number of fine examples have survived. The hawberk of mail has shrunk to the proportions of a vest, and is seen only at the armpits and along its lower edge. The linen coat is discarded altogether, and in its place appears the leather jupon, a close-fitting tunic without sleeves, and finished with a border of escallops or other ornamental edging. It was sometimes quite plain, sometimes emblazoned with armorial bearings. Between hawberk and jupon a cuirass of steel was added, always hidden from view, but indicated by the shape of the figure and waist, especially

GOLDEN AGE OF PLANTAGENET RULE 51

in stone or marble effigies. Upon the head was a sharply pointed steel bascinet, to which was laced a camail or tippet



REGINALD DE MALYNS AND HIS TWO WIVES, 1385
CHINNOR, OXFORDSHIRE

of mail, fully protecting the neck and shoulders. The arms and legs were completely encased in plate armour, except

when studded pourpoint was used at the thighs ; so were the feet, save where a gusset of mail showed at the ankle, above the pointed sollerets. A broad belt, or bawdric, was now worn straight across the hips, with the sword attached to it upon the left side, and upon the right a long dagger, the famous misericorde.

Most of these points, except the misericorde and the lower edge of the hawberk, are illustrated in the Chinnor brass figured above.

The following is a complete list of the military figures of this period, nearly all being armed precisely in the manner described :—

Cobham, Kent, 1354, Sir John de Cobham.
 Bodiam, Sussex, *c.* 1360, John Bodiham, small.
 Aldborough, Yorks., *c.* 1360, Wm. de Aldeburgh, on bracket.
 Watton, Herts., 1361, Sir Philip Peletoot.
 Great Berkhamstead, Herts., *c.* 1365, unknown.
 Cobham, Kent, *c.* 1365, John de Cobham.
 „ „ 1367, Sir Thos. de Cobham.
 Methwold, Norfolk, 1367, Sir Adam de Clyfton.
 Drayton Beauchamp, Bucks., 1368, Thos. Cheyne, Esq.
 Aveley, Essex, 1370, Ralph de Knevyngton.
 Chrishall, Essex, *c.* 1370, Sir John de la Pole and wife.
 Freshwater, Isle of Wight, *c.* 1370, unknown.
 Broughton, Lincs., *c.* 1370, Sir Henry Redford and wife.
 Harrow, Middlesex, *c.* 1370, Edm. Flambard, on bracket.
 Ticehurst, Sussex, *c.* 1370, unknown, approp. to John Wybarne, Esq.
 Shopland, Essex, 1371, Thos. Stapel, Serj.-at-arms.
 Mereworth, Kent, 1371, Sir John de Mereworth.
 Bray, Berks., 1378, Sir John de Foxley and two wives.
 Calbourne, Isle of Wight, *c.* 1380, unknown.
 St. Michael's, St. Albans, Herts., *c.* 1380, a Pecok.
 Felbrigg, Norfolk, *c.* 1380, Roger de Felbrig and others.
 Fletching, Sussex, *c.* 1380, a Dallingridge and wife.
 Clyffe Pypard, Wilts., *c.* 1380, a St. Quintin.
 Graveney, Kent, 1381, Rich. de Feversham.
 Horseheath, Cambs., 1382, Sir John de Argentine.



THOMAS CHEYNE, ESQ., 1368
DRAYTON BEAUCHAMP, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Acton Burnell, Salop., 1382, Sir Nich. Burnell.
 Southacre, Norfolk, 1384, Sir John Harsyck and wife.
 Chinnor, Oxon., 1385, Reginald de Malyns and two wives.
 Audley, Staffs., 1385, Sir Thos. de Audeley.
 Chinnor, Oxon., 1386, Esmoun de Malyns and wife.
 Rotherfield Grays, Oxon., 1387, Sir Robt. de Grey.
 Etchingham, Sussex, 1388, Sir Wm. de Echingham.
 Letheringham, Suffolk, 1389, Sir John de Wyngefeld.
 Irnham, Lincs., 1390, Sir Andrew Louttrell.
 Harrow, Middlesex, c. 1390, John Flambard.
 Strensham, Worcs., c. 1390, Robt. Russel.
 Reepham, Norfolk, 1391, Sir Wm. de Kerdeston and wife.
 Wootton-under-Edge, Glos., 1392, Thos. Lord Berkeley and wife.
 Chinnor, Oxon., 1392, John Cray, Esq.
 Wanlip, Leics., 1393, Sir Thos. Walsch and wife.
 Wood Ditton, Cambs., 1393, Hen. Englissh and wife.
 Sheldwich, Kent, 1394, Sir Rich. Atte Lese and wife.
 Draycot Cerne, Wilts., 1394, Sir Edw. Cerne and wife.
 Seal, Kent, 1395, Sir Wm. de Bryene.
 Mapledurham, Oxon., 1395, Sir Robt. Bardolf.
 Brandsburton, Yorks., 1397, Sir John de St. Quintin and wife.
 Mere, Wilts., 1398, John Bettesthorpe.

Thomas Cheyne, Esq., 1368, who was shield-bearer to Edward III. (cf. illustration), wears not only chausses but also jambarts of studded mail, arranged in bands, while a strange trimming of fringe and little bells is fastened below each knee. But the common type is almost invariable, to the degree of monotony, at this period.

Graceful canopies, both single and double, frequently surround the figures, and wives accompany their husbands. Their dress also conforms to a definite type, and consists of a close-fitting kirtle, buttoned tightly from elbow to wrist, and sometimes down the front, though without a waistband of any kind. Over this is worn a loose mantle, open in front, but held in position by a cord across the breast. Occasionally a third dress appears over the kirtle, and with or without the

mantle. It has two distinct forms—a gown barely to be distinguished from the kirtle, but with close sleeves terminating above the elbows, with long lappets hanging almost to the ground, or else the sideless cote-hardi, slit up at the sides of the skirt, edged with fur or other rich material at the openings, but entirely without sleeves or even sides as far as the hips.

The former dress is well seen at Great Berkhamstead, Herts., 1356; Waterperry, Oxon., *c.* 1370; Necton, Norfolk, 1372; Bray, Berks., 1378, and the latter at Lingfield, Surrey, *c.* 1370; Ashford and Cobham, Kent, 1375; and Wanlip, Leics., 1393.

A long overcoat occasionally takes the place of the mantle, with short sleeves, and buttoned all the way down to the feet. It is well exemplified in the two wives of Reginald de Malyns, *c.* 1380 (*cf.* illustration), at Chinnor, Oxon.

The kirtle is sometimes worn quite alone, seemingly by unmarried ladies, as at Quainton, Bucks, *c.* 1360, and Stoke Fleming, Devon, 1391. Head-dresses are more variable, and since the hair is usually plaited and gathered into a net, are spoken of as reticulated. Often a lock is allowed to escape on either side, with the end twisted into a little ball and resting upon the shoulder. Various terms are used to distinguish the different forms. When the principal lines are wavy, it is nebule, or zigzag, as the case may be. When the network is more elaborate, and adorned with threads (of gold and silver) and studded with jewels, or enriched with a jewelled fillet, it is the crespine head-dress, over which a kerchief is sometimes carefully disposed.

Widows wear a veil, with barbe and wimple, covering the whole of the head and neck.

Examples of ladies portrayed alone are met with at—

Sedgefield, Durham, *c.* 1340, unknown, small.

Norbury, Staffs., *c.* 1350, Hawys Botiller.

Clifton Campville, Staffs., *c.* 1360, unknown.

Quainton, Bucks., *c.* 1360, Joan Plessi.

Winterbourne, Glos., *c.* 1370, unknown.

Great Berkhamstead, Herts., *c.* 1370, unknown.
 Waterperry, Oxon., *c.* 1370, Isabell Beauf.
 Burford, Salop., *c.* 1370, Elizth. de Cornewaylle.
 Lingfield, Surrey, *c.* 1370, a Cobham.
 Necton, Norfolk, 1372, Ismayne Winston.
 Ashford, Kent, 1375, Elizth. Countess of Atholl.
 Cobham, Kent, 1375, Marg. Lady Cobham.
 „ „ 1380, Maud de Cobham.
 Barton-on-Humber, Lincs., *c.* 1380, unknown.
 Necton, Norfolk, 1383, Philippa de Beauchampe.
 Stebbing, Essex, *c.* 1390, unknown.
 Watford, Herts., *c.* 1390, Marg. Holes.
 Gedney, Lincs., *c.* 1390, unknown.
 Chinnor, Oxon., *c.* 1390, unknown.
 Spilsby, Lincs., 1391, Margery Wyllughby.
 Cobham, Kent, 1395, Marg. Lady Cobham.
 Westminster Abbey, 1399, Alianore de Bohun.

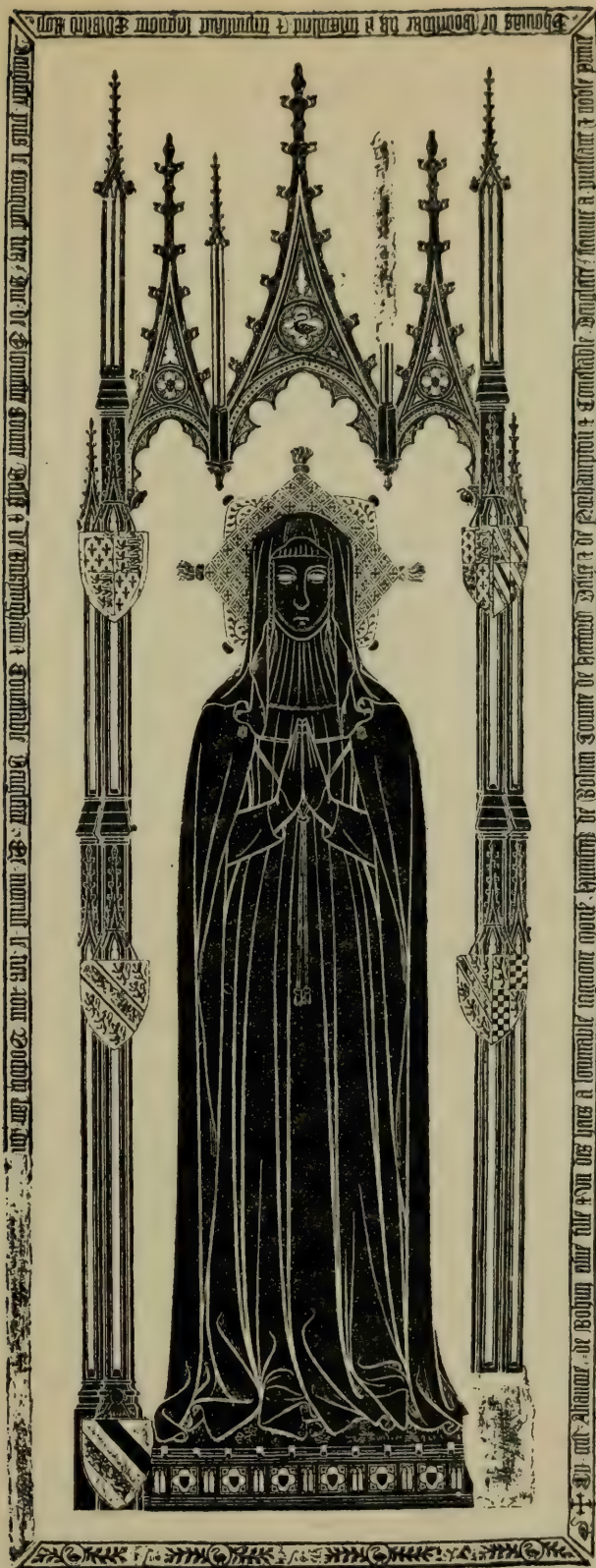
The last-mentioned brass is of more importance than the rest. The lady commemorated was the Duchess of Gloucester, and widow of Thomas of Woodstock, the youngest son of Edward III. Shakespeare has introduced her into the first act of *Richard II.*, and puts into her mouth a sad farewell to Gaunt—

“Desolate, desolate, will I hence, and die.”

Her heavy veil and wimple proclaim the widow, but she is honoured with a beautiful triple canopy (*cf.* illustration), the shafts of which are hung with armorial shields, and the pediment and inscription adorned with her heraldic badge, the swan.

Cross and bracket brasses, the great mercantile brasses of foreign workmanship, and ecclesiastical brasses, must be enumerated in separate chapters. There remain many civilian brasses of more or less importance, listed below—

Upchurch, Kent, *c.* 1340, man and wife, demi.
 Great Berkhamstead, Herts., 1356, Rich. Torryngton and wife.
 Ashbury, Berks., *c.* 1360, John de Walden, demi.
 Sherborne St. John's, Hants., *c.* 1360, Raulin Brocas, and sister, demi.



ALIANORE DE BOHUN, DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER. 139
ST. EDMUND'S CHAPEL, WESTMINSTER ABBEY

Blickling, Norfolk, *c.* 1360, unknown (a bust only).
 Nuffield, Oxon., *c.* 1360, Beneit Engliss, demi.
 Shottesbrooke, Berks., *c.* 1370, a frankelain (with a priest).
 Graveney, Kent, *c.* 1370, John de Feversham and mother, demi.
 Hellesden, Norfolk, *c.* 1370, Rich. de Heylesdone and wife, demi.
 Deddington, Oxon., *c.* 1370, unknown, demi.
 Cheam, Surrey, *c.* 1370, a frankelain.
 Rusper, Sussex, *c.* 1370, John de Kyggesfolde and wife, demi.
 King's Somborne, Hants., *c.* 1380, two civilians.
 St. Michael's, St. Alban's, Herts., *c.* 1380, John Pecok and wife.
 Felbrigg, Norfolk, *c.* 1380, Symond de Felbrigg and wife.
 Lewknor, Oxon., *c.* 1380, John Alderburne, demi.
 Hampsthwaite, Yorks., *c.* 1380, unknown.
 Wimington, Beds., 1391, John Curteys and wife.
 Stoke Fleming, Devon, 1391, John Corp and grand-daughter.
 Temple Church, Bristol, 1396, unknown.
 Boston, Lincs., 1398, Walter Pescod.

In mere size these brasses cover a wide range, from the tiny bust at Blickling to the magnificent but now mutilated memorial of Walter Pescod and his wife, at Boston (cf. illustration, p. 70), where under a square super-canopy, itself divided into seven compartments, lie separate triple canopies for each figure, with eight more niches in the outer shafts. Such variation is in itself a proof that brasses were now coming into more general use, not only for the wealthy merchant, but for the comparatively poor tradesman. Not that the business of the person commemorated is yet often given in the inscription, a practice which was to come later. Yet we have seen that Nichole de Aumberdene (to be further mentioned under cross-brasses) was a fishmonger of London, while John Curteys was Mayor of the Wool Staple of Calais.

Three kinds of civilian dress are to be noted at this time. Most of the small demi-figures show men in close tunics buttoned down the front, or with tippets upon their shoulders and hoods about their necks. For the most part they wear beards and shaggy hair.



TWO CIVILIANS, *c.* 1380
KING'S SOMBORNE, HAMPSHIRE

Richard Torryngton, a full-length figure of about 4 feet in height, wears a perfectly plain gown and hood, without so much as a button, and low-pointed slippers. He clasps his wife by the hand, and, like any knight, his feet rest against a lion. A similar gown appears to be worn by Richard de Heylesdone.

The third and most imposing dress consisted of a long tunic, a hood, and a voluminous mantle buttoned on the right shoulder and thrown back over the left arm. From the girdle at the waist hung an anelace, a serviceable weapon, much longer than a dagger, and resembling a broad, short sword. The wearers of this dress are usually thought to have been frankleins or freeholders, and are well exemplified in Symond de Felbrig, the two civilians at King's Somborne, and John Curteys the wool-stapler.

John Corp, of Stoke Fleming, presents a remarkable variation, in that his tunic is buttoned halfway down the front, and his anelace worn hanging from a rich sword-belt depending from his right shoulder.

APPENDIX

CAST-METAL TOMBS

THE latten of which brasses were made was sometimes also used for the creation of cast-metal effigies, which form, perhaps, the grandest and most permanent class of English monuments in existence. They would doubtless have been prepared more frequently if it had not been for their extravagant cost, which precluded their use by any but royal or semi-royal personages. Thus the great tomb which Richard II. prepared in his lifetime, between the Confessor's Chapel and the South Ambulatory of Westminster Abbey, for himself and his first queen, Anne of Bohemia, is said to have cost £670, a price equal to a present expenditure of £10,000. It is a superb work of art, a "brass" of the most exalted kind, and of the best period. Begun in

1395, and finished about two years later, the names of the men who made it are carefully recorded. The marble-workers were Henry Yelverley and Stephen Lote, the "copper-smiths," Nicholas Broker and Godfrey Prest, all of London. Parts of the indenture made between the king and the contractors are copied into a note in Haines' Manual, from Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. vii. pp. 797 and 798. The monument was to have "Deux Ymages de Coper & Laton Endorez, Coronez . . . une table du dit Metall Endorre, sur la quele les dites ymages seront jesauntz. la quele Table serra fait ovesque une Frette de Flour de Lys, Leons, Egles, Leoparades. . . . Et auxi serrount Tabernacles, appellees Hovels ove Gabletz de dit Metall Endorrez, as Testes, ove doubles Jambes a chescune partie. . . . Et auxi xii. Images du dit Metall endorrez, des diverses Seintz conterfaitz, . . . & viii. Aungells entour la dite Tombe, Et auxi Escriptions d'estre gravez entour la dite Toumbe. . . . Et auxi serront tiels Escochons & bien proportionnez du dit Metall Endorrez, Gravez & Anamalez de diverses Armes."

It is extremely interesting to compare these directions with the actual work. The splendid gilt effigies of the king and queen lie side by side, and formerly hand in hand, until the arms were wantonly broken, under a canopy on which the Bohemian lion and the imperial two-headed eagle were painted by an artist named John Hardy. Upon both effigies badges are engraved, amongst them the white hart, and the broomscods of the Plantagenets. The Latin inscription round the verge of the tomb is of exactly the same character as those of some of the best brasses, and is of special interest, for it was inscribed in 1398, and probably represents Richard's own opinion of himself and of his queen. Anne's charity, her peace-making character, and her fair countenance, are specifically mentioned, while Richard is compared to Homer, and described as true in speech and full of reason:—

" + Prudens & mundus :
 Ricardus iure secundus :
 Per fatum victus :
 iacet hic sub marmore pictus :
 verax sermone :
 fuit et plenus racione :
 Corpore procerus :
 animo prudens ut omerus :

Ecclie fauit :
 elatos suppeditaui :
 Querimos prostrai :
 regalia qui violai .
 Obrui hereticos :
 & eor' strai amicos :
 O clemens xpe :
 cui deuotus fuit iste :
 votis Baptiste :
 salues quem pretulit iste :
 + sub petra lata :
 nunc Anna iacet tumulata :
 Dum vixit mundo :
 Ricardo nupta secundo :
 xpo deuota :
 fuit hec factis bene nota :
 Pauperibus prona :
 Semp sua reddere dona :
 Jurgia sedauit :
 et pregnantes releuauit :
 Corpore formosa :
 Vultu miris speciosa :
 Prebens solamen :
 viduis egris medicamen :
 Anno Milleno :
 ter . C . quarto nonageno :
 Juni septeno :
 mensis migrauit ameno."

This great tomb was probably, to some extent, modelled upon that of Edward III. next to it, where there is another superb gilt "brass" effigy. In this case, however, no details or names of designers or workmen are known. The tomb is richly decorated with enamel, and had originally twelve gilt statuettes of Edward's children, of which six remain, upon the side overlooking the ambulatory. They represent Edward the Black Prince, Joan of the Tower, Lionel Duke of Clarence, Edmund of Langley, Mary of Brittany, and William of Hatfield.

On the opposite side of the chapel two other gilt effigies of cast metal are to be seen, both placed by Edward I. in memory respectively of Henry III. and of Queen Eleanor. Both were wrought in the year 1291 by the English artificer Wm. Torel, who had set up his furnace,



BRASS STATUETTES OF EDMUND LANGLEY, MARY OF BRITTANY,
AND WILLIAM OF HATFIELD, FROM THE TOMB OF EDWARD III.
WESTMINSTER ABBEY

after the manner of the itinerant bell-founders, in St. Margaret's churchyard. Of Queen Eleanor's effigy there were once duplicates in Lincoln Cathedral and in the Church of the Friars Preachers in Blackfriars, but the Westminster figure has alone survived.

An interesting reminiscence, for so it seems, of the splendours of the Confessors Chapel, may be found in the *Morte Darthur*, Book II. cap. xi. In a great battle "in the field afore the Castle Terrabil," Arthur had defeated and slain Lot of Orkney and twelve other kings, all of whom afterwards "were buried in the church of St. Stephen's in Camelot." "But of all these twelve kings, King Arthur let make the tomb of King Lot passing richly, and made his tomb by his own; and then King Arthur let make twelve images of laton and copper, and over-gilt it with gold."

Canterbury Cathedral possesses an effigy of the same type and of the first importance, for it is upon the tomb of Edward the Black Prince. His own directions for the monument, like those of his son Richard, are still extant in the register of Archbishop Sudbury at Lambeth, together with the inscription, which with very slight variations was duly engraved in two lines about the verge of the tomb.

"Et paramont la tombe," he willed, "soit fait un tablement de latone suzorrez de largesse et longure de meisme la tombe, sur quel nous volons que un ymage d'overeigne levez de latoun suzorrez soit mys en memorial de nous, tout armez de fier de guerre de nous armez quartillez et le visage mie, ove notre heaume du leopard mys dessouz la teste del ymage. Et volons que sur notre tombe en lieu ou len le purra plus clerement lire en veoir soit escript ce que ensuit, en la manere que sera mielz avis a noz executours :—

'Tu que passez ove bouche close, par la ou cest corps repose
Entent ce que te dirray, sicome te dire la say,
Tiel come tu es, Je au ciel fu, Tu seras tiel come Je su,
De la mort ne pensay je mie, Tant come j'avoy la vie.
En terre avoy grand richesse, dont Je y fys grand noblesse,
Terre, mesons, et grand tresor, draps, chivalx, argent et or.
Mes ore su je povres et cheitifs, perfond en la terre gys,
Ma grand beaute est tout alee, Ma char est tout gastee,
Moult est estreote ma meson, En moy na si verite non,
Et si ore me veissez, Je ne quide pas que vous deeisez,
Que j'eusse onques hom este, si su je ore de tout changee.
Pur Dieu pries au celestien Roy, que mercy eit de l'arme de moy.
Tout cil que pur moi prieront, ou a Dieu m'acorderont,
Dieu les mette en sou parays, ou nul ne poet estre cheitifs.'

These lines were borrowed from an anonymous translation of the *Clericalis Disciplina* of Petrus Alphonsus, composed between the years 1106 and 1110; the French translation being of the thirteenth century, and entitled *Castorement d'un Père à son Fils*. The variations upon the tomb are given in Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*. The prince's figure is in exact accordance with the will, of metal gilt, beautifully executed, and exhibiting him in his camail and bascinet, jupon emblazoned with armorial bearings, and the rest of the armour appropriate to the period. The bascinet is surrounded by a jewelled coronet, and its lacing is very prominent.

Passing from the royal tombs of the Plantagenets, we find in the Beauchamp Chapel of the Church of St. Mary, at Warwick, another metal monument of the most splendid character, in memory of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. The chapel itself, which adjoins the choir on the south side, is of remarkable beauty, and was devised during his life by the earl, who afterwards expired in Normandy, at the Castle of Rouen, April 30, 1439, and was brought with great pomp to Warwick.

The executors of his will soon commenced the work entrusted to them, and laid the foundation of the chapel in 1443. The building of chapel and monument occupied twenty-one years, at a cost amounting to the large sum of £2481, an expenditure which would now be equivalent to something like £40,000.

The monument consists of a high tomb of grey Purbeck marble, prepared by John Bourde, marbler, of Corff Castle, Dorset, and upon it a large plate, made, forged, and worked, "in most finest wise, and of the finest latten," by Wm. Austen, founder, and Thos. Stevyns, coppersmith, with two narrow plates to go round about the stone for the inscription. The plate was to be of the finest and thickest "cullen" (*i.e.* Cologne) plate and all was to be gilt. Wm. Austen was also to cast fourteen images "embossed of lords and ladyes in divers vestures, called weepers, to stand in housings made about the tomb," and "an image of a man armed, of fine latten." Bartholomew Lambrespring, Dutchman, and goldsmith of London, covenanted to polish and make perfect the figures, and also to make fourteen "scutcheons of the finest latten." These and "the armes in them the said Bartholomew shall make, repaire, grave, gild, enamil, and pullish as well as possible," and fasten up at 15 shillings a scutcheon.

Besides the principal niches at the sides of the tomb, there are

eighteen smaller, with figures of angels, likewise cast in latten and gilt, and carrying scrolls in their hands, engraved, "Sit Deo laus et gloria defunctis misericordia." The weepers represent various personages of exalted rank allied to the earl, Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury; Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset; Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham; John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury; Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick; George Neville, Lord Latimer; Henry Beauchamp, afterwards Earl of Warwick; and seven great ladies their wives.

The figure of the earl was to be "garnished with certain ornaments, viz. : with sword and dagger; with a garter; with a helme & crest under his head; and at his feet a bear musled; and a griffon, perfectly made, of the finest latten, according to patterns, and layd on the tombe." There was also to be "an hearse to stand on the tombe, above and about the principall image that shall lye on the tombe, according to a pattern."

All these directions were strictly carried out, and have resulted in what is perhaps the most perfect monumental effigy in existence. Every fastening, strap, buckle, or hinge of the armour is represented with scrupulous fidelity, not only on the front, but on the unseen back. It is, moreover, thought to be the faithful reproduction of a suit actually worn by the earl, the work of the celebrated contemporary Milanese armourers, the Missaglias. The hearse, for holding a pall, is composed of six hoops of latten, connected by five poles of the same metal, moulded at the ends.

The inscription is in raised letters, passing twice round the verge of the tomb, and its words are interspersed with the Warwick badges of the bear and the ragged staff, the former occurring twenty-two times, the latter nineteen. It is written in English, and is of sufficient interest to be given in full.

"Preieth devoutly for the Sowel Whom god assoille of one of the moost Worshipful Knightes in his dayes | of monhode & conning Richard Beauchamp Late Eorl of Warrewik lord Despenser of Bergevenny & of mony other grete lordships whos body resteth here vnder this tumbe in a fulfeire vout of Stone set on the bare rooch thewhuch visited with longe siknes in the | Castel of Roan therinne decessed ful cristenly the last day of April the yer of oure lord god A M | CCCCXXXIX he being at that tyme Lieutenant gen'al and governer of the Roialme of Fraunce and of the Duchie of Normandie by sufficient Autorite of oure Sou'aigne lord

the King Harry the VI thewhuch body with grete deliberacon' and ful worshipful condiut | Bi See And by lond Was broght to Warrewik the IIII day of October the yer aboueseide and Was | leide with ful Solenne exequies in a feir chest made of Stone in this Chirche afore the west dore of this Chapel according to his last Wille And Testament therin to reste til this Chapel by him devised i' his lief were made Al thewhuche Chapel founded | On the Rooch And alle the membres thereof his Executours dede fully make And Apparaille | By the Auctorite of his Seide last Wille And Testament And thereafter By the same Auctorite Theydide Translate fful Worshipfully the seide Body into the vout aboueseide Honnred be god therfore."

The early Renaissance is represented in metal tombs most conspicuously by the splendid monument to Henry VII. and his Queen, in the midst of his chapel at Westminster Abbey. For this he had left instructions with regard to every detail, and the heavy grille, which obscures any view of the tomb except from above, seems to have been begun before his death. The design, however, was altered from Gothic to Classic under the superintendence of the great Italian sculptor, Torrigiano, to whom are owing the wonderfully modelled effigies, the figures of angels, the reliefs of saints, and, in fact, all the decorations on the monument. It was apparently completed by 1518, as well as the effigy of the King's mother, Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, which is also of brass, and by the same hand. Her death took place in 1509, a few months after that of her son, and she rests in the south aisle of the chapel.

CHAPTER IV

ARCHITECTURAL ORNAMENT CANOPIES, BRACKETS, AND CROSSES

CANOPIES.—The Decorated or Middle Gothic style of architecture prevailed in England throughout the whole of the fourteenth century, and to this style belong some of the best canopies and ornaments found in brasses. Just as the earlier effigies are supposed to be recumbent, with pillows or helms at the head and animals at the feet, so are the canopies also supposed to be lying upon the ground, and not erect. In this particular they are copied from the numerous tombs of the previous century, where a similar arrangement is found, a low canopy of stone, often but a few inches above the level of the slab, surrounding the sculptured effigy.

At the same time it is important to compare the details of these canopies with others in an erect position, such as those of niches, tabernacles, and shrines for images, and even of doorways, windows, and roof-gables.

The beautiful crosses, adorned with niches and statues, and raised by Edward I. at all the places where the body of Queen Eleanor had rested on its way from Harby, near Lincoln, where she died, to Westminster Abbey, where she was buried, are usually reckoned as early examples of the Decorated style. On each side of the carved figures rise slender shafts supporting a graceful pediment, of which the upper sides are straight, in the form of a triangle, ornamented with a row of

crockets, and terminating in a bunch of foliage of considerable size. The lower arch is curved and pointed, with pierced cusps, which give it the form of a trefoil or cinquefoil, according to the number employed. The spandrel between the two arches is filled with foliage.

The same form of canopy is found in early brasses, though only one example now remains, surrounding the figure of Joan de Cobham, Cobham, Kent, in *c.* 1320. The arch is here trefoiled, and the cusps filled with foliage. Slender shafts rise from small bases, and their foliated caps support somewhat heavy panelled and crocketed pinnacles.

There are several matrices of canopies in the same style, such as those at Trotton, Sussex, *c.* 1310 (cf. illustration, p. 28), and at Norton Disney, Lincolnshire, and Emneth, Norfolk, *c.* 1300, over the lost cross-legged effigies of Sir Wm. D'Iseni and Sir Adam de Hakebech. In the last-mentioned of these, which is, however, perhaps the earlier in date, the centre finial is wanting, and its place taken by a large and handsome tabernacle.

But the straight-sided low canopy was quickly superseded by that of ogee shape, tapering to a great height, and supported by equally tall or taller side shafts and pinnacles. These canopies are of great variety and beauty, and many noble examples are still extant. The Collegiate Church of Cobham, in Kent, for instance, exhibits no fewer than six ogee canopies of the fourteenth century alone, ranging from 1354 to 1395. These all belong to brasses of knights and ladies included in the lists upon pp. 52, 56. In every case the canopies are furnished with side shafts and pinnacles, between which and the centre finial are placed two shields of arms. The finials are gracefully foliated, and in two of the brasses, those of John "the Founder," *c.* 1365, and Dame Margaret, 1395, terminate in small representations of the Blessed Virgin and Child. The inscriptions in every case are in French, engraved upon plain and narrow bordered fillets, and of much

interest. Thus the first John de Cobham is described as "*le cortays viaundour*"—the courteous host—and the second as "*founeur de ceste place*." Probably no other church in the world contains so fine a series as the nineteen brasses at Cobham. They lie for the most part upon the chancel pavement in their original slabs, and where fragments of canopies or margins were missing, they have been judiciously restored. The massing of so many and so elaborate brasses in one place is, at the present day, remarkable and unique.

Other good examples of fourteenth-century canopies may be seen at Methwold, 1367, and Reepham, 1391, in Norfolk; Chrishall, *c.* 1370, in Essex; Acton Burnell, 1382, in Salop; Sheldwich, 1394, in Kent; Mapledurham, 1395, in Oxon; and Westminster Abbey, 1399; all enumerated on pp. 52, 54. The Duchess of Gloucester's (*cf.* p. 56 and illustration) is particularly fine, with its triple pediment and its heraldic accessories. The Methwold brass (p. 52) was sold to a tinker in the year 1680, and broken into 130 pieces ready for the melting-pot; but it was happily recovered, stored in the church chest, and 200 years afterwards, in 1888, fitted together and replaced in the church.

Amongst ecclesiastical brasses that of Bishop Trilleck, 1360, at Hereford Cathedral (p. 112), which forms the frontispiece of Haines' Manual, presents an early and very fine example of an embattled super-canopy above the ogee pediment, and supported by the side shafts. A similar arrangement is found at Cottingham, Yorkshire, 1383, in the brass of Nicholas de Louth, priest (p. 120). Canon Fulburne, 1391 (p. 120), and Archbishop Waldeby (p. 107) also have fine single canopies of this period.

Sometimes the side shafts are widened, and consist of a series of panels, each containing a saint within a canopied niche. These may be carried up beyond the principal arch to a super-canopy, also containing saints and angels. Durham Cathedral possesses a matrix of this type, commemorating

probably Lewis de Beaumont, Bishop, 1317-1333. Measuring some 15 by 10 feet, the brass would have been the largest as well as one of the finest in the kingdom. A beautiful triple canopy, with straight-sided pediments, and with four open niches in each shaft, around the life-sized figure of the bishop, was surmounted by a super-canopy with five niches and clustered pinnacles of great elegance. Outside the whole were additional shafts, each with six more niches, and joined to the principal by graceful flying buttresses (cf. illustration, p. 314).

A few years later, at Higham Ferrers, Northants., the brass of Laurence de St. Maur, rector, 1337 (cf. illustration, p. 101), has shafts with six pairs of saints, and above the ogee arch a super-canopy of five compartments, of which the centre has itself an ogee pediment, while the rest are straight-sided.

Still more elaborate is a fine canopy at Boston, Lincolnshire, where Walter Pescod, merchant, 1398, and formerly his wife, whose effigy is now lost, lie beneath a doubly-triple canopy, with super-canopy divided into two square-topped compartments with cusped round arches, and flanked by four pairs of saints in panelled niches. Erected upon and forming a continuation of the entire canopy there is an arcade of seven niches—from all but two of which the figures are lost—each with a cinquefoiled arch and ogee pediment, and the whole finished with an embattled cornice.

The much mutilated brass of Bishop Waltham, 1395, in the Confessor Chapel at Westminster Abbey, has shaft-niches with double pediments, but only a few fragments remain of the fine embattled super-canopy and shafts, or of the three graceful pediments within.

It sometimes happens that these embattled canopies occur without any ogee pediments within, a splendid example remaining, with saints in the panels of the shafts, at Balsham, in Cambridgeshire, 1462, to the memory of Dr. John Blodwell, Dean of St. Asaph. They may then perhaps be taken to



WALTER PESCOD, MERCHANT, 1398.
BOSTON, LINCOLNSHIRE

represent the flat testoons of certain notable monuments, such as were erected over the tombs of Edward III. and Richard II. at Westminster, and Edward the Black Prince at Canterbury.

In the fifteenth century the same style of ogee canopy is continued, nor is anything more graceful known than that of Prior Nelond, at Cowfold, Sussex, 1433, illustrated in Chapter VI, at the Appendix on the Religious Orders (p. 134). Here the centre of the three main pediments is itself triple, and its pinnacled shafts support a kind of tabernacle, in which is seated the Blessed Virgin with the Holy Child. The outer pediments have for their finials the figures of St. Pancras and St. Thomas of Canterbury. There are no other niches or saints, but secondary outer shafts appear, connected by arched entablatures and flying buttresses. The effect is delicate in the extreme, and suggests the lightness of the great lantern of Ely Cathedral. A similar canopy, though without the tripling of the centre pediment, is to be seen at St. Albans, commemorating Abbot John Stoke, 1451, though, unfortunately, it is sadly mutilated, and the abbot's figure entirely lost.

Tabernacles supported by the ogee arch are also found at Cobham, Kent, in the fine brasses of Sir Reginald Braybrok, 1405, and Sir Nicholas Hawberk, 1407. Good canopies of the fifteenth century are found in many other places, Haines enumerating as many as ninety-three. Amongst the best are those at—

- Deerhurst, Glos., 1400. Double; cf. p. 174.
- South Ockendon, Essex, 1400. Cf. p. 148.
- Gunby, Lincs., c. 1400. Double, with shields; cf. p. 148.
- Balsham, Cambs., 1401. Triple; cf. p. 128.
- Dartford, Kent, 1402. Double; cf. p. 159.
- Bottesford, Leics., 1404. Triple; cf. p. 121.
- Checkendon, Oxon., 1404. Triple; cf. p. 179.
- Burgate, Suffolk, 1409. Double; cf. p. 148.

- Great Tew, Oxon., *c.* 1410. Double; cf. p. 150.
 Kidderminster, Worcs., 1415. Triple; cf. p. 152.
 New College, Oxford, 1417. Triple, with super-can.; cf. p. 112.
 Gunby, Lincs., 1419. Cf. p. 173.
 Lynwode, Lincs., 1419. Double, with super-can.; cf. p. 167.
 Trotton, Sussex, 1419. Double, with super-can.; cf. p. 145.
 Horley, Surrey, *c.* 1420. Cf. p. 157.
 Pulborough, Sussex, 1423. Cf. p. 122.
 Thruxton, Hants., *c.* 1425. Triple; cf. p. 151.
 Warbleton, Sussex, 1436. Cf. p. 122.
 Etchingham, Sussex, 1444. Triple, with shields; cf. p. 157.
 Okeover, Staffs., 1447. Triple, with shields; cf. p. 267.
 Northleach, Glos., 1458. Cf. p. 169.
 Thornton, Bucks., 1472. Quadruple; cf. p. 184.
 Westminster Abbey, 1498. Triple; cf. p. 113.

Towards the end of the century groining, hitherto a rare feature, begins commonly to appear beneath the soffit of the pediment, and the work becomes coarser as the influence of Perpendicular architecture makes itself felt. This is especially noticeable in the heaviness of the pinnacles, the form of the crockets and finials, and the bases of the shafts.

In the sixteenth century, in the general debasement of brass-engraving, canopies are not often met with, and are still coarser and altogether less artistic, though they continue to follow the old lines. A few good examples occur, as at Cobham, Kent, 1506 (double); Hunstanton, Norfolk, 1506 (triple, with figures; cf. illustration, p. 45); Hillingdon, Middlesex, 1509 (double; cf. illustration, p. 224); Northleach, Glos., 1526 (double; cf. p. 168); and Faversham, Kent, 1533 (double; cf. p. 232).

Hereford Cathedral has a remarkable triple canopy in the brass of Dean Frowsetoure, 1529, in which the florid architecture of the Renaissance entirely takes the place of the Gothic.

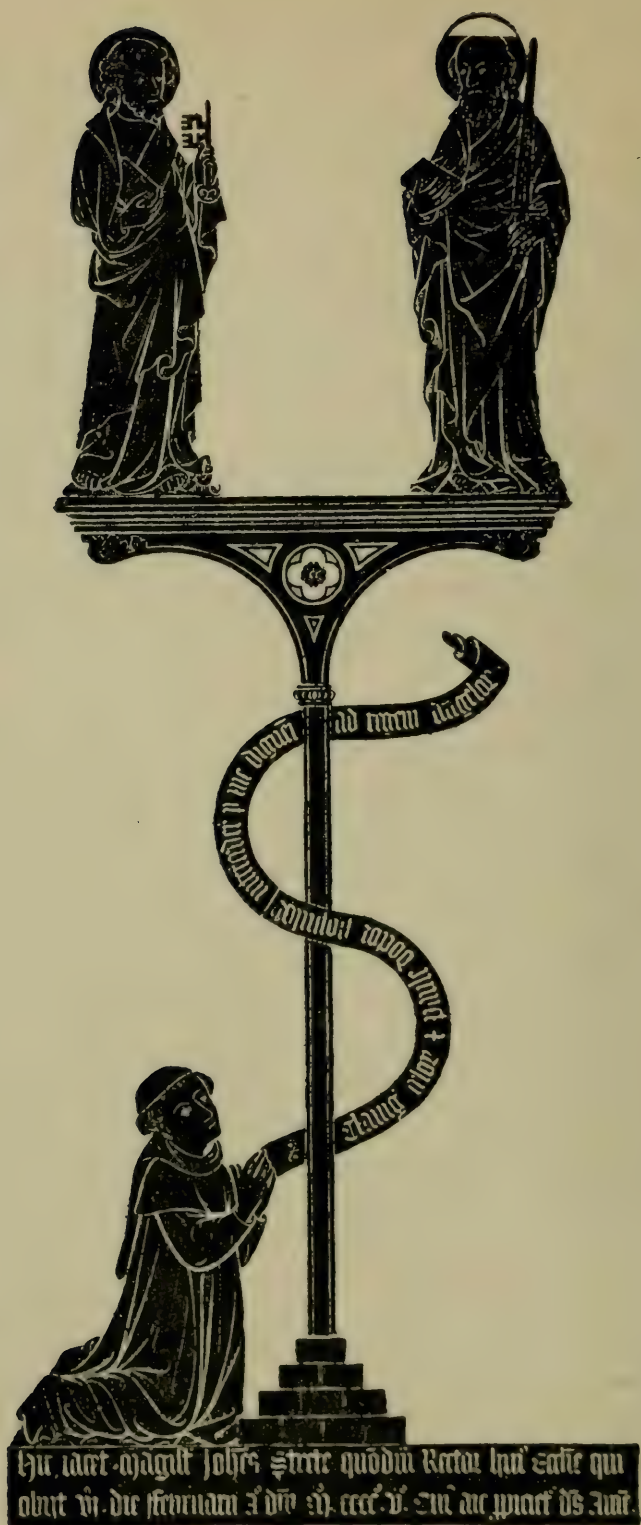
After this time architectural ornament disappears, at least as a distinct feature in the composition of brasses. It is,

however, true that architectural details are still to be found in many of the rectangular mural plates of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But they are merely pictorial, and therefore of a totally different character. The whole of Carlisle Cathedral, and also of the front of Queen's College, Oxford, are sketched upon the brass of Bishop Robinson in his college chapel, in 1616; and other instances of the kind might be adduced.

More doubtful cases are those of which the brass of Arch-deacon Honywode, 1522, in St. George's Chapel, Windsor (illustration, p. 219), is an early example. The depressed Tudor arch and its supporting shafts and pinnacles are very definitely introduced, yet nevertheless form but a part of the entire picture.

Brackets.—In close connection with the architectural interest of canopies, we find that brackets were often used as a leading feature in the composition of certain brasses. Thus, bracket-brasses are generally considered to form a distinct class. In architecture a bracket is an ornamental projection from the face of a wall, usually to support a statue. A small column or pillar, with its base upon the ground, gives additional support, and a rich canopy above may enclose the figure in a species of tabernacle or shrine.

Engraved brasses in this form are by no means common, but are occasionally met with, and are of considerable merit. In the most natural form the shrines would contain the figures of saints, while the persons commemorated would kneel below, and the whole composition would be considered to be erect, and not recumbent. Only two existing brasses, however, follow this most natural arrangement. One is at Upper Hardres, Kent, 1405, where a priest, John Strete, kneels below a bracket on which stand the figures of St. Peter and St. Paul, but there is no canopy. The other is at Burford, Oxon., 1437. Here the Blessed Virgin and Child occupied the place of honour, and are unhappily lost, together with the canopy above



JOHN STRETE, RECTOR, 1405
UPPER HARDRES, KENT

them. The bracket remains, and on either side of its stem kneel John Spyker and his wife, commemorated by the brass. In every other instance the persons themselves stand upon the bracket, and no saints appear.

The earlier examples are nearly all grievously mutilated, and of some of them only the merest fragments remain.

Great Brington, Northants., *c.* 1340. Stem lost. Priest demi.
 North Mimms, Herts., *c.* 1360. Stem lost; cf. *Foreign Workm*, p. 93.
 Clifton Campville, Staffs., *c.* 1360. Stem and canopy lost. Lady demi.
 Brandsburton, Yorks., 1364. Nearly all lost. Priest demi.
 West Hanney, Berks., *c.* 1370. Bracket lost. Priest.
 Harrow, Middlesex, *c.* 1370. Pediments of canopy. Man in arm.
 Bray, Berks., 1378. Sir John de Foxley and two wives.

The Foxley brass, last mentioned, is the only one in anything like a perfect condition, though it has lost its canopy. A short column, its stem only 13 inches long, with a small architectural base, rises from the back of a fox, the family cognizance. Expanding from its upper moulding to the bracket, the head encloses a triangular spandrel in which are a quatrefoiled circle and three trefoils. The bracket is finished with a row of quatrefoils, upon which stand the three figures, in height 29 inches, a little less than the bracket and stem together, which measure 34 inches. While the ladies are erect, the knight incongruously appears to be recumbent, with a lion at his feet and his head pillowed on his helm and the fox-crest.

The bracket brasses of the next century, with the exception of the first three, are all in a perfect or nearly perfect condition, and present several very pleasing examples.

Brightlingsea, Essex, *c.* 1400. Much mutilated, with later figures.
 Boston, Lincs., *c.* 1400. Stem lost. Canopy. Civilian and two wives.
 Ore, Sussex, *c.* 1400. Bracket lost. Double canopy. Civilian and wife.
 Upper Hardres, Kent, 1405. Bracket and saints. Priest.

Southfleet, Kent, 1414. Bracket. Lady.

Cotterstock, Northants., 1420. Bracket and canopy. Priest.

Cobham, Kent, c. 1420. Bracket and triple canopy. Priest.

Merton College, Oxford, c. 1420. Bracket and double canopy.

Two priests.

Gt. Harrowden, Northants., 1433. Two brackets below inscription.

Burford, Oxon., 1437. Bracket and lost B.V.M. Civilian and wife.

St. Laurence, Norwich, 1437. Bracket. Foot lost. Prior Langley.

St. George Colegate, Norwich, 1472. Bracket. Civilian and wife.

By far the finest of these are the Cotterstock, Cobham, and Merton College brasses, all of great elegance and beauty. In each case the stem rises from three or two steps, and at its expansion encloses an enriched spandrel. In each case, again, the figures are, as it were, enshrined within their canopies, of single, triple, or double pediments and pinnacled shafts. At Merton College a little tabernacle is placed at the foot, between the steps and the base of the column, containing the Lamb and Banner of St. John the Baptist, probably the patron saint of the two priests, John Bloxham and John Whytton. In the Cobham brass the rather heavy stem is a modern restoration. The Great Harrowden brass is peculiar; it has two short brackets supporting the inscription, above which are the figures of William Harwedon, Esq., and his wife, from which the upper canopies are now lost.

Four examples occur in the sixteenth century—

Hunstanton, Norfolk, 1506, Sir Roger le Strange.

St. John Maddermarket, Norwich, 1524, John Terry and wife.

„ „ „ 1525, John Marsham and wife.

„ „ „ 1558, Robt. Rugge, Esq., and wife.

They are quite peculiar, and of distinct types. In the first a very low but rich cusped bracket, without stem or foot, is placed within, not supporting, a large and elaborate canopy. It is illustrated on p. 45. In the Terry brass, again, there is no stem, and the bracket consists of a kind of tree, whose branches support separate pedestals for the husband, wife, and

groups of children, the whole forming a single plate. The Marsham bracket has a stem like the leg of a table, and its top is curiously strewn with skulls, bones, and worms, above the words, "Memento homo quia Morieris." The last example is a mere corbel attached to the lower side of the inscription. These Maddermarket brasses are all of local work, and curious in many respects.

Crosses.—Cross-brasses, like brackets, form a class by themselves. They were very frequently used, especially in the fourteenth century, in the memorials of ecclesiastics, and large numbers of such brasses were destroyed by the Puritans in their strange animosity against all representations of the sacred symbol. Valuable stone matrices, from which every vestige of brass has been wantonly removed, frequently occur, as in Ely Cathedral, which once possessed a splendid series of almost unique type.

About thirty examples remain in three clearly marked divisions.

1. Floriated crosses with figures stand in the first place, in which a long, graceful stem, ornamented with two or three pairs of leaves, springs from steps, or from some symbolic animal, or from a simple bunch of foliage, and supports a quatrefoiled head with floriated terminations. The figure of the deceased person is placed within or upon the head.

Examples are found at—

Merton College, Oxford, *c.* 1310, Rich. de Hakebourne, priest.

Chinnor, Oxon., *c.* 1320, a priest.

Woodchurch, Kent, *c.* 1320, Nichol de Gore, priest.

Newton-by-Geddington, Northants., 1400, John Mulsho and wife.

Buxted, Sussex, 1408, Britell Avenel, priest.

At Merton College everything is lost except part of the quatrefoil, upon which rests the fine demi-figure of the priest in eucharistic vestments. The whole indent, however, can clearly be seen upon the slab. At Chinnor the quatrefoil

encloses the head only of the priest, and has floriated terminations ; the stem is lost. At Woodchurch, also (cf. illustration, p. 31), the stem is gone, though the remainder of the brass is in perfect condition. A small full-length figure in eucharistic vestments stands within a quatrefoiled circle, bearing the French inscription, " Mestre Nichol de Gore gist en ceste place Jhesu Crist prioms ore qe merci lui face." The points of the cross, it will be noticed, are formed by four bold fleurs-de-lys. At Newton, where the brass was carefully restored some years ago by the Messrs. Waller, we find the space within the quatrefoil occupied by the figure of St. Faith. She wears a martyr's crown, and stands with her left hand upon a sword, and her right holding a gridiron. The rest of the space is diapered with a pattern of small crosses, and inscribed with the words, " Sca Fides virgo & m̄r."

The Buxted cross still retains its stem and a base of four steps. The head contains the priest at three-quarters length, and its quatrefoil, as at Newton, has a diapered background.

2. Octofoil crosses with figures in the head are more fully represented, and to this division the best and most interesting cross-brasses belong. They consist each of a series of eight ogee arches, alternately large and small, with finials of foliage, and surrounding the figures at full or half length. A long stem, sometimes plain, sometimes foliated, sometimes inscribed, rises from the usual steps or device.

East Wickham, Kent, *c.* 1325, John de Bladigdone and wife, demi.

Wimbish, Essex, 1347, Sir John de Wantone and wife.

Taplow, Bucks., *c.* 1350, Nich. Aumberdene.

Sparsholt, Berks., *c.* 1360, Wm. de Herlestone, priest.

Merton College, Oxford, 1372, priest in civil dress.

Hildersham, Cambs., 1379, Robt. de Paris and wife.

Hereford Cathedral, *c.* 1390, priest in cope.

St. Michael's, St. Albans, *c.* 1400, a civilian.

Stone, Kent, 1408, John Lumbarde, priest.

Cobham, Kent, 1447, John Gerye, priest ; figure lost.

The Taplow, Hildersham, and Stone crosses are all in very good condition, and at East Wickham the missing parts have been restored as a parish memorial of the jubilee of 1887. The rest are all badly mutilated, but retain their original matrices. The devices from which the stems sometimes spring are curious. Thus, Aumberdene, the "Fishmonger of London," has for his device a dolphin embowed naiant; the Wimbish brass had an elephant, a badge of the Beaumont family; and at Sparsholt there was either a shield or a heart. At Merton College the stem seems to have risen from a lion.

At Hildersham (cf. illustration) the figures kneel on either side of the stem of the cross, each upon a shield of arms, while the head contains an excellent example of that symbol of the Holy Trinity in which the Almighty Father, in the form of a venerable man, is seated upon a throne and holds a crucifix between His knees; the Holy Dove, usually depicted above the crucifix, is here omitted.

Stem and finials are lost from the Hereford cross, the foot and finials from that at St. Albans, and the whole of the Cobham cross, except the inscribed stem, an architectural base and part of one finial.

3. The third division consists of crosses without figures, few in number, but of great variety. Of the first in point of date, in Westminster Abbey, only a fragment of the plain stem remains, together with eight uncial letters set in the border of a coffin-shaped slab, of perhaps the end of the thirteenth century. This fragment, with two pieces of red, white, and gold mosaic, inserted between the border and the cross, was preserved underneath a step in the Confessor Chapel, while the rest of the slab, exposed to constant wear, lost all its brass and mosaic and became hopelessly worn.

The other crosses belong, for the most part, to a later period than those already enumerated—

Grainthorpe, Lincs., *c.* 1380, unknown.

Higham Ferrers, Northants., 1400, Thos. Chichele and wife.



ROBERT DE PARIS AND HIS WIFE ALIENORA, 1379
HILDERSHAM, CAMBRIDGESHIRE

Cassington, Oxon., 1414, Sir Roger Cheyne.
 St. Mary's, Reading, 1416, Wm. Baron.
 Chelsfield, Kent, 1417, Robt. de Brun, priest.
 Broadwater, Sussex, 1445, Rich. Tooner, priest.
 Standon, Staffs., c. 1450, unknown.
 St. Mary-le-Wigford, Lincoln, 1469, Wm. Horn.
 Peper Harow, Surrey, 1487, Joan Brokes.
 Royston, Herts., c. 1500, unknown.
 Eversley, Hants., 1502, Rich. Pendilton.
 Sutton, Beds., 1516, Thos. Burgoyne and wife.
 Hever, Kent, c. 1520, Herward Bwllayen.
 Penshurst, Kent, c. 1520, Thos. Bwllayen.
 Floore, Northants., 1537, Alice Wyrley.

At Grainthorpe the head is a quatrefoiled circle, with external cusps, enclosing a cross in the centre, and the base of the shaft rests on a rock placed in the sea. At Higham Ferrers the arms of a Latin cross are enriched with a flowing pattern and terminate in the evangelistic symbols. Fleurs-de-lys are substituted at Cassington and Broadwater, the latter bearing also the words, "Sanguis xp̄i Salua me. Passio xp̄i Conforta me."

A bleeding heart and the four wounds are represented upon the Royston cross, the nails upon that at Floore, which is small and drawn in perspective, upon a rock. Eversley has a unique arrangement of interlaced bands forming both cross and foot. Hever and Penshurst are very small and plain. The Chelsfield memorial is, or rather was, a small crucifix with the figures of St. Mary and St. John on either side, and two scrolls, each inscribed with the words, "Salus mea xp̄e est." Only the headless figure of St. Mary now survives, with the two scrolls, and the foot of the crucifix, upon a ground with Adam's skull, Jacob's thigh, and the jawbone of the ass, from which (by a misapprehension of the sacred text) there sprang a well of water to revive the spirit of Samson. The brass is the only representative of a type often used, but diligently eradicated by the Puritan iconoclasts.

CHAPTER V

FOREIGN WORKMANSHIP

IN the continental parts of Northern Europe brass-engraving had, in the fourteenth century, arrived at a high pitch of excellence. The style, however, was altogether different to that of England. Rectangular plates were almost invariably used, and the whole surface was covered with engraving, after the manner of a picture. Any spaces which might occur between the outlines of figures, canopies, inscriptions, or other accessories were filled in with diaper work, and size was obtained by joining together a number of plates.

The early brasses at Verden and Hildesheim have been already mentioned at the beginning of the second chapter (p. 13). The fourteenth century gives a number of magnificent compositions. Ringstead, in Denmark, has a splendid brass, measuring 9 feet 4 inches by 5 feet 6 inches, to King Eric Menved and Queen Ingeborg, dated 1319, but almost certainly engraved thirty or forty years later, and probably at Lubeck. Schwerin in Mecklenberg, Stralsund in Pomerania, Lubeck, Thorn in Prussian Poland, also possess immense and beautiful brasses, ranging from 1347 to 1361. These and many others have been illustrated in *A Book of Fac-similes of Monumental Brasses on the Continent of Europe*, by the Rev. W. F. Greeny, a work of the greatest value, published in 1884. In the Low Countries, Ghent and Brussels have notable brasses of the fourteenth and Bruges of the fifteenth centuries.

Most of these countries carried on trade and intercourse

with England, and foreign brasses were sometimes engraved as memorials for English people, and laid down in English churches. They form a separate and very interesting class, of which the eight following are referred to the fourteenth century :—

King's Lynn, Norfolk, 1349, Adam de Walsokne and wife.

St. Albans Abbey, *c.* 1360, Abbot Thos. Delamere.

Wensley, Yorks., *c.* 1360, Simon de Wenslagh, priest.

North Mimms, Herts., *c.* 1360, a priest.

King's Lynn, Norfolk, 1364, Robt. Braunche and two wives.

Aveley, Essex, 1370, Ralph de Knevyngton, in arm. (small).

Newark, Notts., *c.* 1375, Alan Fleming.

Topcliffe, Yorks., 1391, Thos. de Topclyffe and wife.

These brasses are all described by Boutell, who devotes to them fifteen pages of letterpress and fourteen partial illustrations. He is convinced that they were all, except the small brass at Aveley, produced by one artist, "the Cellini of the fourteenth century," as Gough had already designated him. But this is possibly going too far. It is true that all have certain characteristics in common, the characteristics of their style and class. There are *two* leading groups, each of which undoubtedly exhibits the influence of one master mind, and which must have been the handiwork of one workshop.

Five great merchant princes, of England and of the Hanseatic League, are commemorated by as many huge brasses, so exactly alike in subject, arrangement, and in some of the most minute details, that of necessity they must have had a common origin. Geographically they lie far apart, Walsokne and Braunche in England; John Chingenberg at St. Peter's, Lubeck, 1356; Albert Hovener at Stralsund, 1357; and Johannes von Zoest (and his wife) at Thorn, 1361. A third brass at King's Lynn of the same series is, unhappily, lost. Chingenberg's brass is much worn, and seems never to have been illustrated. The others may be minutely compared. In every one of them the diaper of the background is almost



ROBERT BRAUNCHE AND HIS WIVES LETITIA AND MARGARET, 1364
KING'S LYNN, NORFOLK
(Section from centre of the brass)

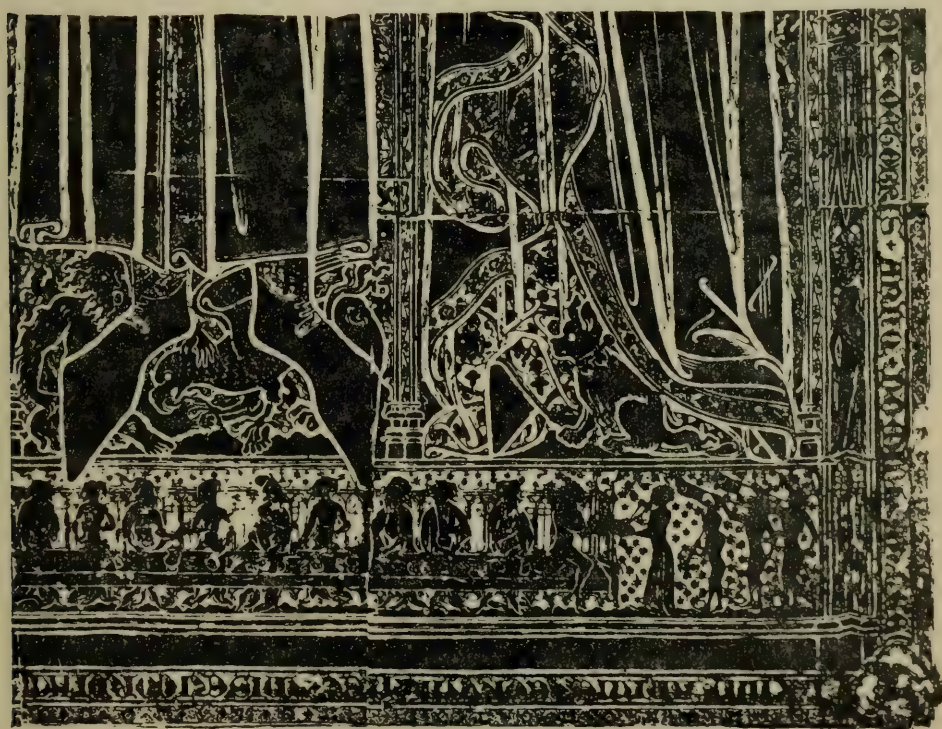
precisely the same ; it is worked with peculiar trefoils, within which are strange but similar dragons ; the Walsokne brass at Lynn adds satyrs, mermaids, and animals, and has butterflies between the trefoils. The head of every figure of merchant or wife rests upon a cushion diapered in leaf pattern, and supported by two angels placed close to the shoulders. At the feet of each merchant a hairy man is seen struggling with a monster, usually in the form of a lion, except in the Braunche brass, where it is an eagle ; at Thorn a huntsman is added, who stabs the monster with a spear. Every lady has a lap-dog, and Margaret von Zoest a squirrel also, in the act of cracking a nut. The inscriptions, broken by not less than six quatrefoils, are in beautifully formed Lombardic characters at Lynn and Thorn, in early black letter at Stralsund. The outer margin is adorned with a pattern of alternately round and square shaped roses at Lynn and Stralsund, of foliage at Thorn. An especially interesting feature in all these brasses is that a long and narrow compartment is reserved beneath the principal figures, and filled with some pictorial scene or scenes. Thus at Stralsund is represented a deer hunt and a boar hunt. Beneath Adam de Walsokne a horseman is seen



PICTORIAL COMPARTMENT BELOW THE FEET OF ADAM DE WALSOKNE, 1349
KING'S LYNN

carrying grist to the mill, and two serving-men bear their master in a litter over a stream ; beneath his wife are hunting scenes, the wild boar, the deer, and rabbits, while one of the

huntsmen fights with an outlaw. In the second Lynn brass the picture of a peacock feast is in its way famous, "a feast," Cotman quotes, "that for the splendour of the table and the company, the band of music, and the attendants, might pass for some grand anniversary celebrated in this wealthy town; perhaps the feast of St. Margaret their patroness, on the fair day granted them by King John; or perhaps the mayor's feast, when Braunche held that office, in 1349 or 1359. Among the delicacies of the splendid table one sees the peacock, that noble bird, the food of lovers and the meat of lords. Few dishes were in higher fashion, and there was scarce any royal or noble feast without it. The honour of serving it up was reserved for the ladies most distinguished by birth, rank, or beauty, one of whom, followed by others, and attended by music, brought it up in the gold or silver dish, and set it before



LOWER SINISTER SECTION OF THE BRAUNCHE BRASS, WITH PART OF
PEACOCK FEAST, MUCH WORN

the master of the house, or the guest most distinguished for his courtesy and valour." Here there are three peacocks, and a further conjecture is made that the feast may commemorate one given to King Edward III. when he and his court visited the town, which they did in the year 1344.

At Thorn woodland pastimes are represented on one side, and on the other the feast of a hairy king, whose attendants stir a cauldron, roast a sucking-pig, and draw ale from a barrel. The hairy men here and at the feet of the merchants, both on the Continent and in England, seem to refer to the pagan savages who occupied the forests of Germany until a comparatively late period, and against whom the Christians carried on a long warfare of conversion or extermination.

Superimposed upon the diapered ground there is in every case an exquisite canopy around and above the principal figures. In its upper compartments the naked soul of the deceased is seen carried upwards by angels, or deposited in the arms of the Heavenly Father, surrounded by angels with censers and musical instruments. The side shafts, and a central shaft also, if there are two principal figures, have niches in which are placed prophets and saints arranged in pairs, and the architectural details are very beautiful and very similar. The Walsokne brass exactly follows the continental examples; the Braunche brass substitutes at the sides "weepers," men and women in civil costume, supposed to be friends or relations of the dead. The total number of figures of all kinds, including saints and angels, is prodigious; the Stralsund brass has 35, Braunche 54, Walsokne 57, and Thorn 74.

Nothing has yet been said of the principal figures. They all have a remarkable family likeness. The men wear tunics, gowns with half-sleeves and long lappets, tippets, and hoods. The ladies, kirtles which are invariably figured in patterns of fine foliage, and over them the sideless cote-hardi, which may, however, be hidden by the mantle, as it is in the two wives of



UPPER DEXTER SECTION OF THE BRAUNCHE BRASS, WITH
CANOPIES AND BORDERS

Robert Braunche. So minute a comparison leads to a plain conclusion. All the brasses of this particular group must at least emanate from one school of engraving, one workshop, from designs made by one great Teutonic artist.

The immense size and elaborate detail of these brasses makes it difficult to illustrate them in such a work as this. The Thorn brass measures 10 feet 4 inches by 5 feet 4 inches ; the Walsokne brass 9 feet 10 inches by 5 feet 8 inches ; the Stralsund brass 9 feet 4 inches by 4 feet 2 inches ; and the Braunche brass 8 feet 10 inches by 5 feet 1 inch. It has, therefore, been found possible only to give, on a very reduced scale, certain portions of the Braunche brass, which exhibit the heads, head-cushions, and arches of the canopies, and part of the base of the Walsokne brass, with the man and monster at Braunche's feet, the pictorial panels, and enough of the border and inscription to indicate its patterns and lettering.

But there is another group, of ecclesiastical brasses, which

present nearly all the same characteristics, and which, again, unite England and the Baltic countries in the closest association. It consists of four brasses: (1) Bishops Ludolph and Heinrich de Bulowe, 1347 (in one brass), at Schwerin; (2) Bishops Burchard de Serken and John de Mul, 1350, at

Lubeck; and (3) in England, Thomas Delamere, Abbot of St. Albans, who died in 1396, but whose brass was engraved in his lifetime, not later than 1360, and still beautifies his abbey church. To these should be added (4) the royal brass at Ringstead, near Copenhagen, to King Eric of Denmark and his queen Ingeborg.

In all these we have again the same arrangement of prophets, saints, and angels in the glorious canopies, the same trefoils and grotesque dragons, and the same kind of Lombardic inscriptions, quatrefoils, and borders of round and square roses. The four bishops and the abbot are vested alike in eucharistic vestments, with jewelled mitres and pastoral staves, with the Agnus Dei in the heads. The butterflies between the trefoils of the Walsokne brass at Lynn reappear at Lubeck. Dragons



PORTION OF DEXTER LADY IN THE
BRAUNCHE BRASS, WITH WEEP-
ERS, AND PART OF PEACOCK FEAST

lie at the feet of the ecclesiastics, lions and lapdogs beneath the king and queen. Head-cushions are omitted, and this

is the distinguishing feature of the group. Schwerin and St. Albans are also without the pictorial compartment, but the royal brass has a boar hunt and a deer hunt, and Lubeck scenes from the lives of St. Nicholas and St. Eloy. In the ground diaper at Schwerin and Ringstead a geometrical design takes the place of the trefoil, though the same dragons are used. The St. Albans brass measures 9 feet 3 inches by 4 feet 4 inches, but is, nevertheless, the smallest of the group. It contains 22 figures, as against 46 at Schwerin, 63 at Ringstead, and 99 at Lubeck. These also must have come from the same school of engraving as the first series, and even from the same workshop, if not from the same hand.

The Newark brass, another enormous work, measuring 9 feet 4 inches by 5 feet 7 inches, is dated 1361, but appears to have been engraved not earlier than 1375. It belongs to the same school, and was probably produced in the same workshop, but by a later hand. The background is composed of exactly the same trefoils and dragons; there are the same angels supporting a diapered head-cushion, and the same hairy man struggling with a lion monster, as in all the other mercantile brasses. But important changes are introduced into the canopy. This, for the first time, is drawn in perspective, and has lost in boldness. The central arch is differently arranged, and the diaper is not continued behind the pinnacles, which pierce the line of the marginal inscription. Similar variations are found in the brass of Bishops Godfrey and Frederic de Bulowe at Schwerin, the latter of whom died in 1375. Their brass is the largest known, with a superficial area of 86 square feet, viz. 13 feet 6 inches by 6 feet 5 inches. In the Newark brass there are hunting scenes in the pictorial compartment, but on a smaller scale than before. The inscription is in black letter, with a border of foliage on each side. The niches of the canopy shafts, instead of saints, contain "weepers," as in the Braunche brass. They are arranged in six pairs, men and women, in the costume of the period. The

whole of the brass, though complete, is unfortunately very much worn, and has been removed from its position on the floor of St. Mary Magdalene Church and placed high upon the wall. The figure of Alan Fleming, the merchant, is fine and bold, and resembles those of Adam de Walsokne and Robert Braunche.

It is strange that the origin of such pre-eminent works of art should be so obscure. From whence did they come, and who were their designers and engravers? It is impossible to say with certainty. They have been persistently called "Flemish," but are unlike any brasses now existing in the Low Countries. "North German" is a better term, or perhaps "Teutonic."

Strong probabilities, however, point to the city of Lubeck. Its citizens elected Eric of Denmark as their lord, and his brass at Ringstead is almost certainly proved to have issued from the same workshop as that of two of its bishops. Stralsund is upon the Baltic coast, within easy reach of Lubeck by sea, and Schwerin, a few miles inland, lies between. The trading towns of the Baltic were nearly all of them connected by the Hanseatic League, and looked up to Lubeck as their commercial capital. Stralsund was an important member of the confederation. On the business of the league the family of Von Zoest is known to have migrated to Poland. This great Teutonic Hanse was founded by Lubeck and Hamburg in 1266, in rivalry with the Hanse of Cologne, and was joined by all the towns of the Baltic trade. As early as 1271 they had already founded an affiliated society at Lynn, and both there and at Boston, York, Hull, Norwich, Yarmouth, and Ipswich they subsequently built houses.

The Flemish towns belonged to a totally distinct league, with Bruges and Ypres at their head, trading chiefly with London.

The merchants of Lynn were, therefore, in special and direct communication with Lubeck, while Newark might be

reached by way of Hull and the river Trent. It was Lubeck, we may surely say, which produced the finest brasses in the world, and from Lubeck—not Flanders—came those which we are fortunate enough to possess at Newark, St. Albans, and King's Lynn.

The other foreign brasses of England of the period remain to be dealt with. Wensley, in Yorkshire, has the large and bold figure of a priest in eucharistic vestments, but without background or canopy. The execution is distinctly foreign, and in the style of the Lubeck engravers. The same familiarly grotesque dragons appear upon the rich embroidery, together with other details common to the brass of Abbot Delamere. A head-cushion and angels correspond with those of the great mercantile group. The brass must, therefore, be referred to a similar origin. It should be added that the feet rest upon two dogs, the hands are crossed, and a large covered chalice lies upon the breast.

At North Mimms, near St. Albans, there is yet another brass of the same school and period, though from its general inferiority it is probably the production of a different hand. The small figure of a priest in eucharistic vestments, 27 inches high, is placed, without any background, within a canopy measuring about 3 feet 4 inches by 18 inches. In the upper compartment the soul appears in the Father's arms, and there are two angels with censers; the side shafts contain six canopied niches, with six apostles. The whole of the detail is in the Lubeck style, and it is within the bounds of possibility that there may originally have been a background, which was cut away by the English workmen who inserted the brass into its stone slab, in order to make it conform more nearly to English ideas. The embroidery of the vestments is engraved in geometrical patterns of circles and quatrefoils, and a covered chalice is placed upon the breast, below the clasped hands. It is similar in shape to the Wensley example, but simpler. A crouching stag appears between the feet.

The entire composition rises from a small bracket (cf. p. 75), on which are engraved a coat of arms and two seated lions. There may also have been a stem and foot, but as the original slab is lost, this cannot now be ascertained. The brass has been reset, and is placed against the chancel wall.

The Aveley brass is a very small one, 20 by 9 inches, and represents a man in armour beneath a canopy, with delicate tracery, but without subsidiary figures of any kind; the background is cross-hatched and not ornamented. The origin may be either German or Flemish, and in any case is different from those already described. A foot inscription is extended to a length of 19 inches, and is quite peculiar, in that in marking the exact date it gives the Sunday Letter of the Gregorian Calendar.

“Hic iacet Radulphus de Kneuynton. Obitus
idem die Jouis ante festū scī Nicholai Episcopi
anno dñi millmo. CCC. LXX. lra dñcal' f.”

The last words, of course, are abbreviated from “litera dominicalis.”

The brass at Topcliffe is also of a distinct type, and is almost certainly Flemish. It measures 5 feet 9 inches by 3 feet 1 inch, and represents, beneath a double canopy, the figures of a civilian and his wife, both attired in long tunics and mantles, and the former carrying an anelace at his right side. The groundwork is a diaper of flowing pattern, and there are head-cushions, each supported by an angel with outspread wings; souls, and angels playing upon musical instruments, appear in the canopy, which contains the usual niches, pinnacles, and rich tracery. The border inscription is in black letter, and is slightly mutilated. In or about the year 1860 the brass was removed from its slab, and the reverse was discovered to be composed of plates of metal that had been previously used. One piece showed a portion of an earlier

inscription in Lombardic capitals and in the Flemish vernacular, "bidt . voer . die . ziele .," *i.e.* "Pray for the soul."

The list of English fourteenth-century brasses of foreign workmanship is thus completed. There is also in the British Museum a small but beautiful fragment of another large quadrangular brass, obtained from some continental church by Mr. A. W. Pugin. The head of a bishop or abbot in a jewelled mitre is seen resting upon a diapered cushion, beneath a canopy with the Heavenly Father holding the soul, attended by angels and saints. The background is not diapered, and the general style resembles that of the little brass at North Mimms rather than of the great Lubeck plates.

It will be well to enumerate here the few brasses of later periods, which are also of undoubted foreign workmanship:—

All Saints, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1429, Roger Thornton and wife.

St. Mary Quay, Ipswich, 1525, Thos. Pownder and wife.

Fulham, Middlesex, 1529, Margaret Hornebolt.

All Hallows Barking, London, *c.* 1535, Andrew Ewyngar and wife.

St. Nicholas, Aberdeen, 1613, Duncan Liddel, M.D.

In the brass of Roger Thornton we have another fine rectangular plate, measuring about 7 feet by 4 feet 4 inches. Of the principal figures, the husband wears a long gown buckled at the waist, an anelace hanging from his belt, and the wife a very plain kirtle mantle and veil. Both have collars fastened in front by four buttons. They completely fill the spaces between the side and centre pieces of the canopy, so that no groundwork can be seen. Saints and angels fill the niches, as in so many brasses already mentioned, and the canopy is drawn in perspective. Each soul is represented twice, carried upwards by angels, and also safely placed in the Father's arms. There are, again, diapered head-cushions supported by angels, a border inscription in black letter, and an outer fillet in leaf pattern. Below the figures are seven sons and seven daughters, each under a simple trefoiled canopy.



THOMAS POWNER, MERCHANT, AND HIS WIFE EMMA, 1525
ST. MARY QUAY, IPSWICH

The total number of figures is ninety-two, and this is the last of the large brasses, as well as the only example in England of its century. Its origin is quite unknown, but it seems to be the work of German engravers. In some of its details, though not in general effect, it resembles the brass of the two knights, John and Gerard de Heere 1398, formerly in the church of Heere, near St. Trond, a few miles from Liége, and now preserved in the Fine Art Museum of the Palais de Cinquenaire at Brussels.

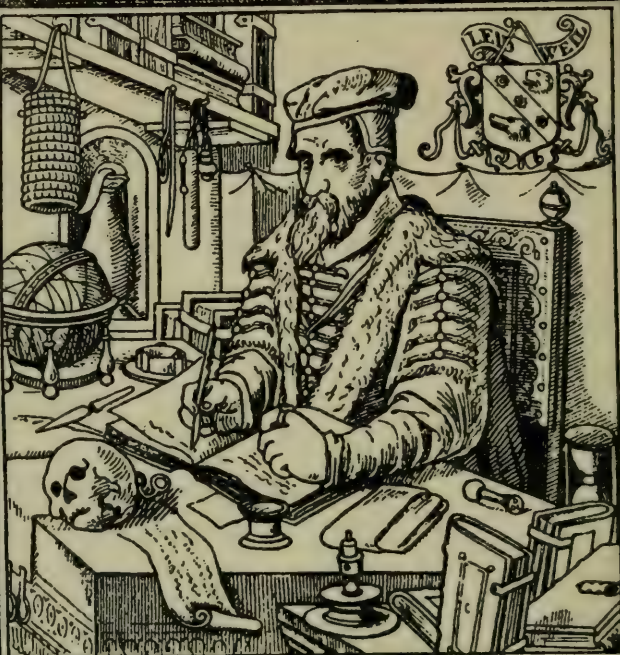
The Ipswich and London brasses are both Flemish, and commemorate citizens of their respective towns, while both bear the arms of the Merchant Adventurers. Thos. Pownder was also Bayly of Ipswich, and Andrew Evyngar a member of the Salters Company. The father of the latter is known to have migrated from Brabant to the parish of All Hallows Barking, where he carried on the trade of brewer and beer-house keeper, and the son had a house in Antwerp. The Flemish form of his name was Wyngaerde. Both brasses are rectangular, though not of large size. Pownder's measures $45\frac{1}{2}$ by $28\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and Evyngar's only 34 by 23 inches. The former (cf. illustration) has a good marginal inscription in English, with an outer fillet of foliage. In each case the merchant is accompanied by his wife and also his children, who are made to kneel or stand at their parents' feet. In the Evyngar brass there is no border, and the inscription is in raised letters at the foot. The canopies and backgrounds are in the luxuriant style of the Renaissance.

Margaret Hornebolt, at Fulham, was the wife of Gerard, a celebrated painter, and was a native of Ghent. Her curious brass is also Flemish. It is a lozenge-shaped plate, and represents her as a half-effigy in a shroud, with angels holding the inscription, and with a shield of arms below.

The solitary example of the seventeenth century is that of Dr. Duncan Liddel, in the Old or West Church of Aberdeen. It was engraved at Antwerp by one Gaspar Bruydegoms, of the Antwerp mint, under the directions of John

SVB SPE BEATÆ RESVRRECTIONIS

OBIIT XVII. DECEMBR. ANNO DOMINI M. DC. XIII. ÆTATIS SVÆ LI.



HIC QUIESCIT D. DVNCANVS LIDDELYS DOCTOR MEDICVS.

ÆTERNÆ MEMORIÆ
DDVNCANI LIDDELI DOCT.
MEDICI, QVEM VIRTVS NASCEN-
TEM EXCEPIT, RECONDITA IN
MEDICINÆ ET OMNIBVS PHILOSO-
PHIÆ AC MATHHESEOS PARTIBVS
PERITIA NATVM EXCOLVIT. LI-
BERALITAS SVpra ÆQVALES EX-
TVLIT: CVI ANNVM STIPENDI-
VM DEBET PVBLICVS MATHHESEOS
IN ACADEMIA ABERDONENSIS
PROFESSOR VICTVMQ. EIVSDEM
ACADEMIÆ SEX ALVMNI:
FAMA POSTHVMA MERITORVM PERPETVA TESTIS.

M. H. D. C. Q.



IO. LIDDELI CIVIS ABERDON. FILIVS.

DUNCAN LIDDEL, M.D., 1613
OLD CHURCH, ABERDEEN

Liddel, the doctor's brother, and is a little more than 5 feet in height. Half the space within the marginal inscription is occupied by a further eulogistic epitaph, in tall clear-cut Roman capitals. The upper half contains a pictorial representation of the doctor, who is seated writing at a table, surrounded by a variety of implements, with books and candle upon a side table, and more books upon a shelf close by.

Two wholly foreign brasses are preserved in the South Kensington Museum, and are well worthy of attention, though they hardly come within the scope of the present work. The more important is a large Flemish plate, dated 1504, in memory of Sire Louis Corteville and Dame Colyne Van Caestre his wife, which, after finding its way from the ruined chapel of the Castle of Corteville, in Flanders, to a shop in Antwerp, was purchased and brought to the Jermyn Street Museum of Geology, and thence latterly to South Kensington. The other is a small and beautiful German brass, from Nippes, near Cologne, to Henry Oskens, precentor and canon, who died in 1535. From the Archiepiscopal Museum at Cologne, it came into the hands of a Paris dealer, who sold it to the South Kensington authorities.

In addition to these complete brasses, there are a large number of fragments which have been reversed and the under surface used in the preparation of English brasses of later date, chiefly between the years 1540 and 1590. They are commonly spoken of as palimpsests. It often happens that by accident or design brasses are loosened or removed from their matrices, and in this way such fragments have been discovered. More than forty instances are known in which the reverse has once formed part of a foreign brass, and all of them have been carefully noted by Mr. Mill Stephenson in the *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*. As an account and lists of these brasses will be found in Chapter X., pp. 257-264, it is unnecessary to enter into further particulars here.

CHAPTER VI

THE MEDIÆVAL CLERGY OF ENGLAND

WHEN brasses first began to be used in the thirteenth century, the principal vestments worn by the clergy of the Western Church had already been absolutely fixed for at least four hundred years. It is therefore unnecessary here to trace either their origin or their early development. Nor can we divide ecclesiastical brasses into those periods which are suggested by the changing fashions of armour and civil dress, for the vestments remain the same until the end of the reign of Henry VIII. and the general disintegration of the Reformation movement. The date of an ecclesiastical brass which has lost its inscription can therefore be assigned only by minute variations in the style of the engraving, or by slight changes in the patterns of embroideries, and by other indications which experience will dictate. For example, long and flowing hair, particularly when it appears curling in profusion behind rather large ears, is a special characteristic of the earliest ecclesiastical brasses. In the fifteenth century it becomes less and less flowing, with smaller ears, and in the Tudor period is represented as quite straight. Again, in the earlier brasses the vestments appear to fit close to the person, as made of fine materials; the drapery is expressed with much gracefulness; the lines are boldly and deeply cut, and there is no shading, except in a few touches where the folds terminate. In later brasses all these

peculiarities will be found to have undergone a decided change, and the differences are often conspicuously marked.

The illustration given is of the fine brass of Laurence de St. Maur ("laurēci' de s̄co Muirō"), 1337, upon an altar tomb in the church of Higham Ferrers, Northants. The central panel of the canopy contains the Heavenly Father, the soul, and two angels, flanked by St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Andrew and St. Thomas; the four evangelists occupy the corner panels of the shafts, and the other figures are St. Gabriel (with probably the Blessed Virgin opposite to complete an Annunciation), St. John the Baptist (and perhaps St. Mary Magdalene), St. Stephen (and almost certainly St. Laurence), the Abbot St. Maur and St. Christopher, whose bare feet stand in the river with a fish. The two dogs quarrelling over a bone below the priest are probably unique. The whole brass measures 8 feet 3 inches by 3 feet 5 inches, and though it was wholly prepared for the priest himself, yet the tomb may have been intended for some one else, perhaps an Earl of Lancaster. Stone escutcheons on the sides bear "England," and the figure does not fit its matrix with absolute accuracy.

About four hundred and fifty ecclesiastical brasses still remain in England, the great majority consisting of priests in eucharistic, processional, or choir vestments. Of these the most important and numerous, though not generally the most imposing, are the brasses which illustrate the vestments worn at the celebration of the Holy Eucharist or Mass. These were the alb, amice, stole, maniple, and, most important of all, the chasuble. They are figured in more than two hundred examples, and may be examined in the figure just given.

The alb was almost invariably made of white linen, and was a long, rather close-fitting garment, with narrow sleeves, and confined at the waist by a girdle or band. Other materials, and even colours, sometimes appear in the old inventories, as, for instance, twenty silk albs at Westminster Abbey in 1388, twenty red albs for Passion Week, forty blue albs "of divers

sorts," and seven albs called *Ferial black*, at Peterborough, 1539, or "One olde aulbe of whyte velvyt" at St. Martin's, Dover, in 1536.

But the ordinary material was linen and the colour white. In the periods covered by brasses, albs were universally ornamented with pieces of embroidery called *apparels*, sewn on to various parts of the vestment. Two of these were placed upon the sleeves, at first often encircling the arms like cuffs, but afterwards reduced to small square patches on the other side. A much larger piece, rectangular in shape, was fastened at the foot of the alb, touching, or a little above, the lower hem. These appear in all the brasses. Other similar *apparels*, not visible, were placed at the back and breast, and behind the skirt. They could usually be removed when the alb was washed.

The amice encircled the neck. It was in reality a large kerchief with an *apparel* of embroidered work along one of its sides, and fastened by long strings over the breast and round the body. When it was in position, the *apparel* was turned down like a collar, and was so far open as to leave the throat of the wearer exposed. The material was linen. Alb, girdle, and *amice* formed also the conventional dress of angels, and will thus be found on brasses. In the evangelistic symbols, so frequently introduced at the corners of marginal inscriptions, St. Matthew is always represented by an angel in this attire. So also where angels support the head-cushions of recumbent figures, or occur in canopies.

The stole was a narrow band, usually embroidered throughout its entire length, and longer than the stole of modern use. It hung from the neck and was crossed over the breast, being held in position by the girdle of the alb. The ends were often widened, or terminated in a small square compartment, and were furnished with a fringe. Only the ends are seen in brasses, except in a very few instances. One of these is at Sudborough, Northants., where the small figure of John

West, chaplain, is included in the brass of his parents, William and Joan West, 1415, and appears without his chasuble; others are at Horsham, Sussex, *c.* 1430, and Upwell, Norfolk, 1435, in the brasses of priests who wear a cope instead of a chasuble over the other eucharistic vestments.

The manipule was a short piece of embroidered work, with fringed ends like those of a stole, and commonly of the same width and pattern. It was worn over the left arm, hooked or buttoned to the sleeve, or caught together so that the upper part formed a loop, as in the brass of Richard Brodewey, rector of Purse Caundle, Dorset, in 1536.

The chasuble was put on over the other vestments, and in English brasses almost always takes the form of a pointed oval, or "vesica piscis," with an aperture in the middle for the head to pass through, but wide enough to show the whole of the apparel of the amice. It hung down over the front and back of the wearer to some distance, and covered the upper part of the arms, though not sufficiently so to interfere with their free action. In a large number of examples the chasuble is quite plain. In many others its hem is ornamented with braid, narrow and simple, or wide and enriched with a pattern of flowers or geometrical figures recurring at regular intervals. Occasionally there is a central orphrey, as it is called, though less often on the chasubles of parish priests than on the richer vestments of bishops and other dignitaries. This orphrey was usually a broad pillar of embroidery on the front, denominated a pectoral, and corresponding with a dorsal at the back. It can be seen in the illustration of the brass of Abbot Estney on p. 113. In the richest examples, as in the foreign work of St. Albans and Wensley, there are side branches which passed over the shoulders, and were called humeral orphreys. When the upper part of the pillar was omitted, as was often the case, the ornament is seen to be in the shape of a Y, and closely resembles the pall of an archbishop. In a few late instances the ground of the chasuble was itself diapered with some rich

pattern. Its material was always the best that could be procured, as of silk, velvet, or cloth of gold. Thus at Lincoln, in 1536, there was "a Chesable of rede cloth of gold w^t orfreys before and behind sett w^t perles blew white and rede w^t plaits of gold enamelled;" another "of Rede velvett w^t kateryn wheils of gold;" another "of Rede sylk browdered w^t falcons and leopardes of gold;" another "of whyte damaske browdered w^t flowers of gold;" and another "of purpur satten lynyd w^t blew bukerham havying dyverse scripturs."

The following list is a selection of perfect or nearly perfect examples of priests in the eucharistic vestments as described above. Demi-figures, which are fairly numerous, as well as mutilated figures, have been purposely omitted. So have most of those small figures which are less than 18 inches in height, and of which there are a considerable number. Indeed, the average size of these brasses is less than that of any other class, and there are few above 3 feet. Higham Ferrers, Horsmonden, Wensley, Northfleet, and Hoo St. Werburgh, are exceptions to the general rule, and the two first are also enriched with canopies, another rare feature in the section.

- Higham Ferrers, Northants., 1337, Laurence de St. Maur.
 Horsmonden, Kent, *c.* 1340, John de Grovehurst.
 Sparsholt, Berks., *c.* 1360, Wm. de Herleston.
 North Mimms, Herts., *c.* 1360, unknown, with chalice.
 Brundish, Suffolk, *c.* 1360, Esmound de Burnedissh.
 Wensley, Yorks., *c.* 1360, Simon de Wenslagh, with chalice.
 Shottesbrooke, Berks., *c.* 1370, unknown.
 Stoke-in-Teignhead, Devon, *c.* 1370, unknown.
 Crondall, Hants., *c.* 1370, unknown.
 Althorpe, Lincs., *c.* 1370, Wm. de Lound.
 Hayes, Middlesex, *c.* 1370, Robt. Levee.
 Northfleet, Kent, 1375, Peter de Lacy.
 Beachamwell St. Mary, Norfolk, *c.* 1385, unknown.
 Hellesdon, Norfolk, 1389, Rich. Thaseburgh.
 Stanford-on-Soar, Leics., *c.* 1400, unknown, with chalice.
 West Wickham, Kent, 1407, Wm. de Thorp.

Emberton, Bucks., *c.* 1410, John Mordon.
 Hoo St. Werburgh, Kent, 1412, Rich. Bayly.
 Shere, Surrey, 1412, Robt. Scarclyf.
 Haddenham, Bucks., *c.* 1420, unknown.
 Little Easton, Essex, *c.* 1420, Robt. Fyn.
 St. Nicholas, Warwick, 1424, Robt. Willardsey.
 Woodford-cum-Membris, Northants., *c.* 1425, Nich. Stafford.
 Milton Keynes, Bucks., 1427, Adam Babyngton.
 Iden, Sussex, 1427, Robt. Seller.
 Bainton, Yorks., 1429, Roger Godeale, with chalice.
 Battle, Sussex, *c.* 1430, Robt. Clere.
 Monks Risborough, Bucks., 1431, Robt. Blundell.
 Puttenham, Surrey, 1431, Edw. Cranford.
 Great Bromley, Essex, 1432, Wm. Bischopton.
 Yelden, Beds., 1434, John Heyne.
 Little Wittenham, Berks., 1433, John Churmound.
 Tansor, Northants., 1440, John Colt.
 Polstead, Suffolk, *c.* 1440, unknown.
 Arundel, Sussex, 1445, John Baker.
 Willian, Herts., 1446, Rich. Goldon, with heart.
 Turweston, Bucks., *c.* 1450, unknown.
 Tattershall, Lincs., 1456, Wm. Moor.
 Whitchurch, Oxon., 1456, Roger Gery, with chalice.
 St. Peter's, Bristol, 1461, Robt. Lond, with chalice.
 Wood Dalling, Norfolk, 1465, Robt. Dockyng.
 Lingfield, Surrey, 1469, John Swetecok.
 Broxbourne, Herts., *c.* 1470, unknown.
 Letchworth, Herts., 1475, Thos. Wyrley, with heart.
 Fulbourn, Cambs., 1477, Gulfrid Bysschop.
 Cirencester, Glos., 1478, Ralph Parsons, with chalice.
 West Harling, Norfolk, 1479, Ralph Fuloflove.
 Childrey, Berks., *c.* 1480, unknown.
 Laindon, Essex, *c.* 1480, unknown, with chalice.
 Sharrington, Norfolk, 1486, John Botolff.
 St. Ethelred, Norwich, 1487, Roger Clerk.
 Childrey, Berks., *c.* 1490, unknown, with chalice.
 Hitchendon, Bucks., 1493, Robt. Thurloe.
 Blewbury, Berks., 1496, John Balam.
 St. John's, Stamford, Lincs., 1497, Hen. Sergeaunt.

Higham Ferrers, Northants., 1498, Hen. Denton, with chalice.
 Great Musgrave, Westd., 1500, Thos. Ouds, small.
 Lingfield, Surrey, 1503, John Knoyll.
 Campsey Ash, Suffolk, 1504, Alex. Inglisshe, with chalice.
 Fladbury, Worcs., 1504, Wm. Plewme, small.
 Houghton Regis, Beds., 1506, Wm. Walley.
 Brightwell, Berks., 1507, John Scolffylde, with chalice.
 Soulderne, Oxon., 1508, Thos. Warner.
 Aldbourne, Wilts., 1508, Hen. Frekylton, small.
 Wimington, Beds., c. 1510, John Stokys, with chalice.
 Ashover, Derbys., c. 1510, unknown.
 Littlebury, Essex, c. 1510, unknown, with chalice.
 Great Greenford, Middlesex, c. 1515, Thos. Symons.
 St. Cross, Winchester, Hants., 1518, Thos. Lawne.
 Clothall, Herts., 1519, John Wryght, with chalice.
 Tattershall, Lincs., 1519, Wm. Symson.
 Great Addington, Northants., 1519, John Bloxham, with chalice.
 Stanton Harcourt, Oxon., 1519, Hen. Dodschone.
 Latton, Essex, c. 1520, unknown, with chalice.
 Hickling, Notts., 1521, Ralph Babyngton, with chalice.
 Great Rollright, Oxon., 1522, Jas. Batersby, with chalice.
 Birchington, Kent, 1523, John Heynys, with chalice.
 Totternhoe, Beds., 1524, John Warwickhyll, with chalice.
 Evershot, Dorset, 1524, Wm. Grey, with chalice.
 Bettws, Montgy., 1531, John ap Meredyth, with chalice.
 Betchworth, Surrey, 1533, Wm. Wardysworth, with chalice.
 Eton College, Bucks., 1535, Wm. Horman, with chalice.
 Wyvenhoe, Essex, 1535, Thos. Westeley, small, with chalice.
 Purse Caundle, Dorset, 1536, Rich. Brodewey, small.
 Chalfont St. Peter, Bucks., 1545, Robt. Hanson, small.

In a few brasses, chiefly by inferior local engravers, the stole, or maniple, or both, are sometimes omitted, probably through ignorance or carelessness. Examples, almost all poor, occur at Dronfield, Derbys., 1399; Clothall, Herts., 1404; Blisland, Cornwall, 1410; Newton Bromshold, Northants., 1426; Great Ringstead, Norfolk, 1485; Walton-on-Trent, Derbys., c. 1490; Sparham, Norfolk, c. 1490; Coleshill,



ROBERT DE WALDEBY, S.T.D., ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, 1397
ST. EDMUND'S CHAPEL, WESTMINSTER ABBEY

Warws., 1500; Blockley, Worcs., *c.* 1500; West Lynn, Norfolk, 1503; Laindon, Essex, *c.* 1510; Wiveton, Norfolk, 1512; Middleton, Lancs., 1522; Somersham, Hunts., *c.* 1530; and Brisley, Norfolk, 1531. In at least one instance, Long Newnton, Wilts., 1503, the maniple is placed on the right arm instead of the left.

Bishops and mitred abbots wore the same eucharistic vestments as priests, but with the addition of the tunicle and dalmatic below the chasuble, sandals, gloves, a ring upon the second finger of the right hand, mitre and crozier.

The dalmatic was properly the distinguishing mark of a deacon. It was a vestment much shorter than the alb, slit up for a short distance on either side, and with a straight edge before and behind. The left side and lower edge were usually fringed for a deacon, both sides for a bishop. No known English brass of a deacon has survived, except a palimpsest fragment at Burwell, Cambs., but the dress appears in figures of St. Stephen, St. Philip, and St. Laurence, where they are introduced into canopies or ornamentation. The material of the dalmatic was rich, like that of the chasuble, and in the later examples was covered all over with an elaborate pattern.

The tunicle was worn underneath the dalmatic, and was similar to it in shape and ornament, though usually made only of linen. It was appropriated to the use of sub-deacons and bishops, and while sometimes entirely hidden by the dalmatic can be perceived in most episcopal brasses.

The sandals were often richly adorned with jewels and gold, and their open-work displayed the scarlet stockings, which were also part of the official dress of the episcopate.

The gloves, sometimes in brasses omitted, were also frequently embroidered and jewelled; often a large stone is seen on the back of each hand.

The episcopal ring was a circlet with a precious stone, never engraved, and it was large enough to pass over the gloved

finger, though not beyond the second joint. The stone was usually a sapphire, sometimes an emerald or a ruby.

The mitre and crozier are almost the only ecclesiastical ornaments which show any considerable development during the era of brasses. The two horns of the mitre were at first in the shape of plain triangles, bent round so as to adapt them to the outline of the head. In the thirteenth century the material was changed from white linen to silk, and overlaid with embroidery and pearls or other jewels. The early mitres were low in height, with plain edges. As time went on they grew in size, and crockets were added to the sides of the horns. At a still later period they assumed the swelling or rounded outline still retained. Their weight also increased, until in the reign of Henry VIII. a silver-gilt mitre removed from Fountains Abbey weighed as much as 70 ozs. Mitres were classified according to the manner in which they were ornamented. One simply made of white linen or silk, with little or no enrichment, was called a "*mitra simplex*;" one with embroidery, but without precious metals or jewels, a "*mitra aurifrigiata*;" and one of rich metals and studded with gems, a "*mitra pretiosa*." Two narrow strips of silk or embroidery called "*infulæ*," with fringed ends, hung down from the back of the mitre, and can be well seen in the brasses at York and East Horsley.

In writing of the crozier, it is necessary to explain that the word is altogether synonymous with the title Pastoral Staff, and that it was borne alike by bishops, abbots, and archbishops. An impression prevailed amongst the antiquaries of a past generation that the shepherd's crook should be called distinctively a "*pastoral staff*," and the cross-staff of an archbishop a "*crozier*." Such nomenclature will be found in Haines, and to a certain extent in Boutell. But latterly this has been shown to be an error, and the shepherd's crook rightly called a "*crozier*," a name not properly applicable to the cross-staff at all.

The crozier is usually represented as held in the left hand or lodged against the arm, leaving the right hand free to be uplifted in blessing. Its curved volute is enriched with foliage, and in early examples encloses the *Agnus Dei*, as at St. Albans, or some other device. The head gradually becomes more heavy and less graceful; it rises from clustered tabernacle work of considerable size and weight, and the volute encloses foliage only. The staff, shod with a pointed ferule, was generally of some precious wood, such as cedar or ebony, and the head, detachable in later examples, of metal or occasionally ivory. A scarf was frequently attached to the knop below the crook, and was either called, like the lappet of the mitre, an "infula," or else the "vexillum," in reference to the labarum or cross-banner of the emperor Constantine. The latest croziers are to be found in the post-Reformation brasses of Henry Robinson, Bishop of Carlisle, 1616, at Queen's College, Oxford, and of Samuel Harsnett, Archbishop of York, 1631, at Chigwell, Essex. The latter is a fine brass, and though the old vestments are discarded, the swelling mitre and voluted crozier, with its central rose, are worthy of study. The brass of Bishop Robinson, here illustrated, is small and very curious, being an allegorical picture 21 by 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches, like the frontispiece of a book, and depicting the bishop in a ruff and skull-cap, vested in rochet and chimere, kneeling before his cathedral and his college, of which he was provost. The volute of his crozier ends in an eye, while a large stork stands upon the outer curve. The staff is inscribed, "Ps. 23. —Corrigendo—SVSTENTANDO—Vigilando—Dirigendo," and the infula has become a napkin, and bears the one word, "Velando." A duplicate of this brass, copied from the original at Queen's, was put over his grave in Carlisle Cathedral by his brother, the Vicar of Crosthwaite.

Archbishops are usually, though not always, represented with a cross-staff instead of a crozier, or even with both, as in several foreign examples. They also wear the pall, which was



HENRICO ROBINSONO CARLEOLENSI, COLLEGII HVIVS ANNIS XVIII PRÆPOSITO
 PROVIDISSIMO, TANDEMQUE ECCLESIAE CARLEOLENSIS TOTIDEM ANNIS EPISCOPO
 VIGILANTISSIMO, XIII^o CÆL: IVLII ANNO A PARTV VIRGINIS MDC XVI^o, ÆTAT: LXIII^o
 PIE IN DOŖO OBDORMIENTI, ET IN ECCLESIA CARLEOL: SEPVLTO, HOC COLL:
 IPSIVS LABORIBVS VASTITATI EREPTV, MNIFICENTIA DEMV LOCVPLETATVM, IS:
 TVD QVALECVNQ. MNHMEION GRATITVDINIS TESTIMONIVM COLLOCAVIT.

*Non sibi, sed Patrie præluxit, Lampadis instar,
 Dependens oleum; non operam Ille suam.*

*In minimis fido Servo, maioribus apto,
 Maxima nunc Domini gaudia adire datur.* *North*

HENRY ROBINSON, D.D., BISHOP OF CARLISLE, 1616
 QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD

made only at Rome, and was specially bestowed by the Pope upon all archbishops. It was simply a narrow loop or circle of white lamb's wool placed over the shoulders, with a weighted band hanging down behind and before. It was adorned with purple or black crosses of silk, and originally fastened to the chasuble by three gold pins.

England has retained a fair number of brasses showing the episcopal vestments, as the following list will show :—

York Minster, 1315, Wm. de Grenefeld, Archbishop of York.
 Hereford Cathedral, 1360, John Trilleck, Bishop of Hereford.
 St. Albans Abbey, *c.* 1360, Thos. Delamere, Abbot of St. Albans.
 Salisbury Cathedral, 1375, Robt. Wyvil, Bishop of Salisbury.
 Adderley, Salop., *c.* 1390, an unknown bishop or abbot.
 Westminster Abbey, 1395, John de Waltham, Bishop of Salisbury.
 " " 1397, Robt. de Waldeby, Archbishop of York.
 St. Albans Abbey, *c.* 1400, lower part of an unknown abbot.
 New College, Oxford, 1417, Thos. Cranley, Archbishop of Dublin.
 East Horsley, Surrey, 1478, John Bowthe, Bishop of Exeter.
 Carlisle Cathedral, 1496, Rich. Bell, Bishop of Carlisle.
 Westminster Abbey, 1498, John Estney, Abbot of Westminster.
 Edenham, Lincs., *c.* 1500, an unknown archbishop.
 Manchester Cathedral, 1515, Jas. Stanley, Bishop of Ely.
 New College, Oxford, *c.* 1525, John Yong, Titular Bishop of Callipolis.
 Ely Cathedral, 1554, Thos. Goodryke, Bishop of Ely.
 St. James', Clerkenwell, 1556, John Bell, Bishop of Worcester.
 Tideswell, Derbys., 1579, Robt. Pursglove, Suffragan Bishop of Hull.

The mutilated brass of Archbishop Grenefeld has already been described at the end of the second chapter. Many of the others are very fine. Thus, Bishop Trilleck's brass is furnished with canopy and super-canopy. So is that of Waltham, though grievously worn and mutilated. So is that of Cranley, with triple pediment and super-canopy almost perfect. Bishop Bell and Abbot Estney have also triple canopies, and Archbishop Waldeby a fine single one. Abbot



JOHN ESTNEY, ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER, 1498
NORTH AMBULATORY, WESTMINSTER ABBEY

Delamere, with his great rectangle of foreign workmanship, has one of the largest and most splendid brasses in England. Bishop Wyvil is represented at three-quarters length, standing within a large battlemented castle, with his champion at the portcullis beneath him, in memory of his recovery of the Castle of Sherborne for the see of Salisbury.

The first illustration, given on p. 107, is of the brass of Archbishop Waldeby, and exhibits the vestments at a good period, when simplicity and dignity were generally of more account than elaboration of detail. Robert de Waldeby himself was a notable personage. At first Bishop of Ayre, in Aquitaine, he was a chosen companion of Edward the Black Prince, and tutor to his son Richard II., by whose influence he was made Archbishop of Dublin, Bishop of Chichester, and finally Archbishop of York. Richard's arms are placed at the finial of his canopy. He had been a physician in his youth, and was renowned for his learning both in medical and divine science.

The second illustration is of John Estney, formerly Prior of Westminster, and elected abbot in 1474 by Papal provision on the recommendation of King Edward IV. He died in 1498, and his tomb and Sir John Harpedon's (cf. p. 152), raised about 4 feet above the abbey floor, with their canopies and iron railings, once formed the screen between the chapel of St. John and the north ambulatory of the choir. Both were moved and mutilated in the eighteenth century to make room for the huge and cumbrous monument of General Wolfe. They have been cut down to about a foot in height, and placed on either side of the ambulatory. Estney's grave was twice opened in the eighteenth century, in 1706 and 1772, and a curious though gruesome account remains of the condition in which he was found. He was "lying in a chest quilted with yellow satten; he had on a gown of crimson silk girded to him with a black girdle. On his legs were white silk stockings, and over his face, which was black, a clean napkin,

doubled up and laid corner-wise ; the legs and other parts of the body firm and plump."

The other brasses are of less importance, though all of much interest. At Adderley a book is held in the left hand, and the crozier, therefore, transferred to the right. The head of Cranley's cross-staff, now mutilated, is a crucifix, as was commonly the rule. Bishop Bowthe's small kneeling figure is drawn in profile, and exhibits the lateral aspect of the episcopal attire. Bell, like the prelate at Adderley, holds a book, but it is open and in his right hand. The brass at Edenham formerly occupied an almost inaccessible position in a panel on the outer face of the church tower, 40 feet from the ground. It has recently been taken down and placed inside the church. Most probably it is not sepulchral, but the effigy of St. Thomas of Canterbury, the patron saint of the donor of the tower, the rivets of whose brass, with a kneeling figure, can be seen lower down upon the tower. Bishop Goodryke was one of the compilers of the reformed Prayer-book, which he holds, clasped and with a seal attached, in his right hand. It is, perhaps, remarkable that he, and Bell and Pursglove who follow him, should still use the full vestments of the mediæval church. The effigy of John Bell, the lower part of which is lost, was sold in 1788, when the old church of St. James', Clerkenwell, was demolished, and passed into the hands of Mr. J. B. Nichols. After his death it was fortunately placed in the new church at the instance of the late Mr. Stephen Tucker, Somerset Herald.

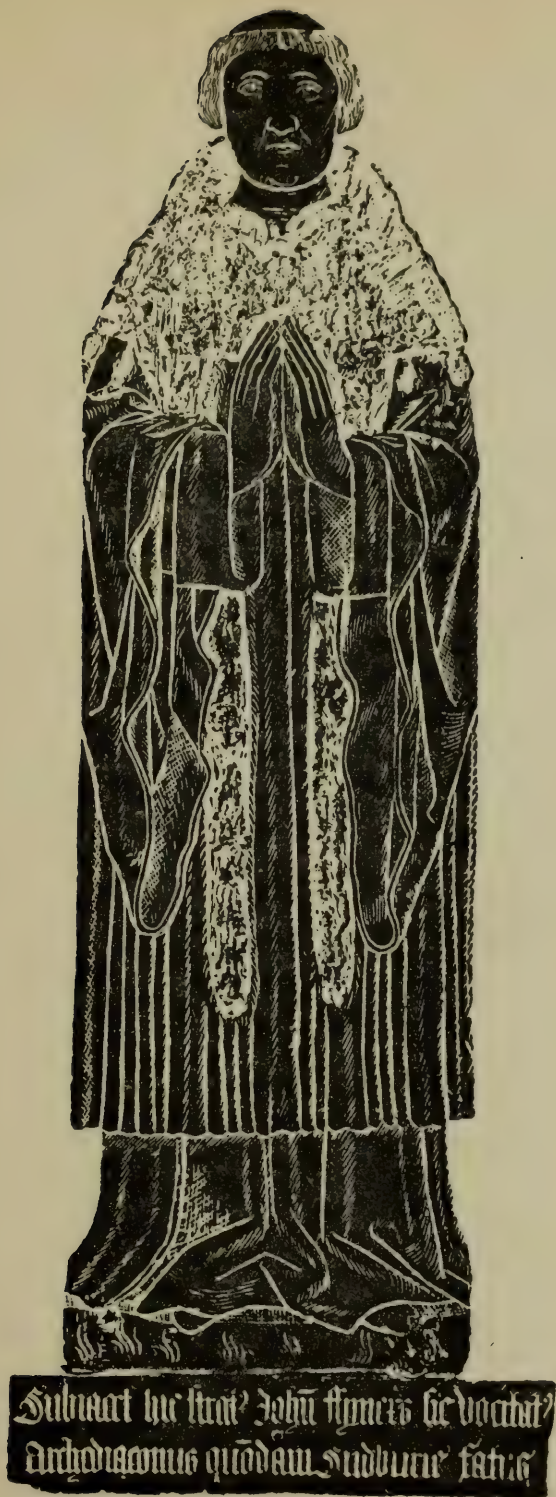
CHOIR AND PROCESSIONAL VESTMENTS

The vestments already described were used only at celebrations of the Holy Eucharist. On other occasions, in choir and at processions, the clergy customarily wore cassock and surplice, much as they do now, with the addition of the almuce and hood, and the cope. The almuce was a large cape turned

down over the shoulders and lined with fur, which varied in quality and colour with the degree of the wearer. Doctors of Divinity and canons wore an almuce lined with grey fur, the former being further distinguished from the latter by the scarlet colour of the outside cloth; all others wore ordinary dark brown fur, the tails of the animals from which the lining was taken being sewn round the edge, and two long pendants or lappets made to hang down in front. A good many brasses show priests thus attired, without the cope. The fur lining, which is the part exposed, is generally represented by cutting away the metal, and filling up the surface with colouring matter or lead inlaid. The brass of John Fynexs, at St. Mary's, Bury St. Edmund's, will serve as an illustration. He was Archdeacon of Sudbury, 1497-1514.

Examples, chiefly of late date, are found at—

Winchester College, Hants., 1413, John Morys, First Warden.
 Cobham, Kent, 1418, Wm. Tannere, demi.
 Arundel, Sussex, 1419, Wm. Whyte, Master of College.
 Bampton, Oxon., *c.* 1420, Thos. Plummyswode, demi.
 Manchester Cathedral, 1458, John Huntington, Warden.
 Wells Cathedral, *c.* 1465, unknown, demi.
 Billingham, Durham, 1480, Robt. Brerely.
 Tredington, Worcs., 1482, Hen. Sampson, kn.
 Eton College, Bucks., 1489, Thos. Barker, Fellow, in cap.
 Byfleet, Surrey, 1489, Thos. Teylar, Canon.
 Borden, Kent, 1490, Wm. Fordmell.
 Aylsham, Norfolk, *c.* 1490, Thos. Tylson, B.C.L.
 St. Cross, Winchester, 1493, Rich. Harward, Warden.
 Great Haseley Oxon., 1494, Thos. Butler.
 Turvey, Beds., *c.* 1500, unknown.
 Dean, Beds., 1501, Thos. Parker.
 Eton College, Bucks., 1503, Henry Bost, Provost.
 St. Mary the Virgin, Oxford, 1507, Edm. Croston.
 Chartham, Kent, 1508, Robt. Sheffelde, M.A.
 Tong, Salop., 1510, Ralph Elcok.
 Luton, Beds., *c.* 1510, Edw. Sheffield, LL.D., in cap.
 Bury St. Edmund's, Suffolk, 1514, John Fynexs, Archdeacon.



JOHN FYNEXS, ARCHDEACON OF SUDBURY, 1514
ST. MARY'S, BURY ST. EDMUND'S

118 THE BRASSES OF ENGLAND

Magdalen College, Oxford, 1515 Wm. Goberd, B.A., Archdeacon.
 Great Cressingham, Norfolk, 1518, John Aberfeld, B.C.L.
 St. George's Chapel, Windsor, 1522, Robt. Honywode, LL.D. qd. pl.
 East Malling, Kent, 1522, Rich. Adams, with chalice.
 Greystoke, Cumberland, 1526, John Whelpdale, demi, very small.
 King's College, Cambridge, 1528, Robt. Hacombleyn, Provost.
 St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, 1528, Robt. Sutton, Dean, qd. pl.
 Sibson, Leics., 1532, John Moore, M.A.
 St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, 1537, Geoff. Fyche, Dean, qd. pl.
 Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, 1557, Jas. Coorthopp, Dean of
 Peterborough.
 King's College, Cambridge, 1558, Robt. Brassie, S.T.P., Provost.

But it was much more usual for priests in surplice and almuce to wear also the cope, especially if they were dignitaries of the Church. The brasses of more than a hundred coped ecclesiastics have come down to us, many being of large size and richly canopied. In this they form a striking contrast to those of the parish priests in eucharistic vestments, of which the majority are small. The cope, therefore, generally shows the church dignitary, or at least the man of wealth. In itself too, the cope was a costly and imposing vestment. Its material was silk, cloth of gold, velvet, or other precious stuffs, and its form was that of a heavy cloak, fastened on the breast by a jewelled brooch called the morse. Richly ornamented orphreys invariably adorned the straight edges in front, and were sometimes carried round the lower hem. The general surface was usually plain, though occasionally covered by a bold pattern, as in the figure (cf. illustration) of Robert Langton, D.C.L., 1518, at Queen's College, Oxford, who also wears a doctor's cap. A small triangular or semi-circular hood was attached to the cope, but this is hidden, except in a very few instances, by the upper part or hood of the almuce, which can be seen at the neck, just as its lappets are visible beyond the long sleeves of the surplice.

Henry de Codryngtoun, Prebendary of Oxtoun and Crophill,



ROBERT LANGTON, D.C.L., 1518
QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD
(A square plate with rebus and initials is omitted)

in Southwell Collegiate Church, and Rector of Bottesford, Leicestershire, 1404, is here given as an illustration. The brass is a particularly fine one, the figure alone measuring about 4 feet 9 inches. The pairs of saints upon the orphreys of the cope are St. Peter and St. Paul, St. John the Evangelist and St. James (of Compostella), St. John the Baptist and an unknown bishop, St. Catherine and St. Margaret, and it will be noticed that the morse bears a representation of the Holy Trinity. The Blessed Virgin is placed in the central pediment of the canopy, and a curious roundel and four-leaved rose are inserted just below the finial.

The list now following is believed to include most or all of the finest coped priests, while some of the smaller examples, as well as a few demi-figures, have been omitted :—

Rothwell, Northants., 1361, Wm. de Rothewelle, Archdeacon of Essex.

St. Cross, Winchester, 1382, John de Campeden, Canon of Southwell.

Cottingham, Yorks., 1383, Nich. de Luda.

Fulbourn, Cambs., 1391, Wm. de Fulburne, Canon of St. Paul's.

Shillington, Beds., 1400, Matth. de Asscheton, Canon of York and Lincoln.

Boston, Lincs., c. 1400, unknown.

Balsham, Cambs., 1401, John Sleaford, Master of the Wardrobe.

Castle Ashby, Northants., 1401, Wm. Ermyn.

New College, Oxford, 1403, Rich. Malford, Warden.

Bottesford, Leics., 1404, Hen. de Codyngtoun, Prebendary of Southwell.

Ashbury, Berks., 1409, Thos. de Bushbury, Canon of Hereford.

Horsham, Sussex, 1411, Thos. Clerke.

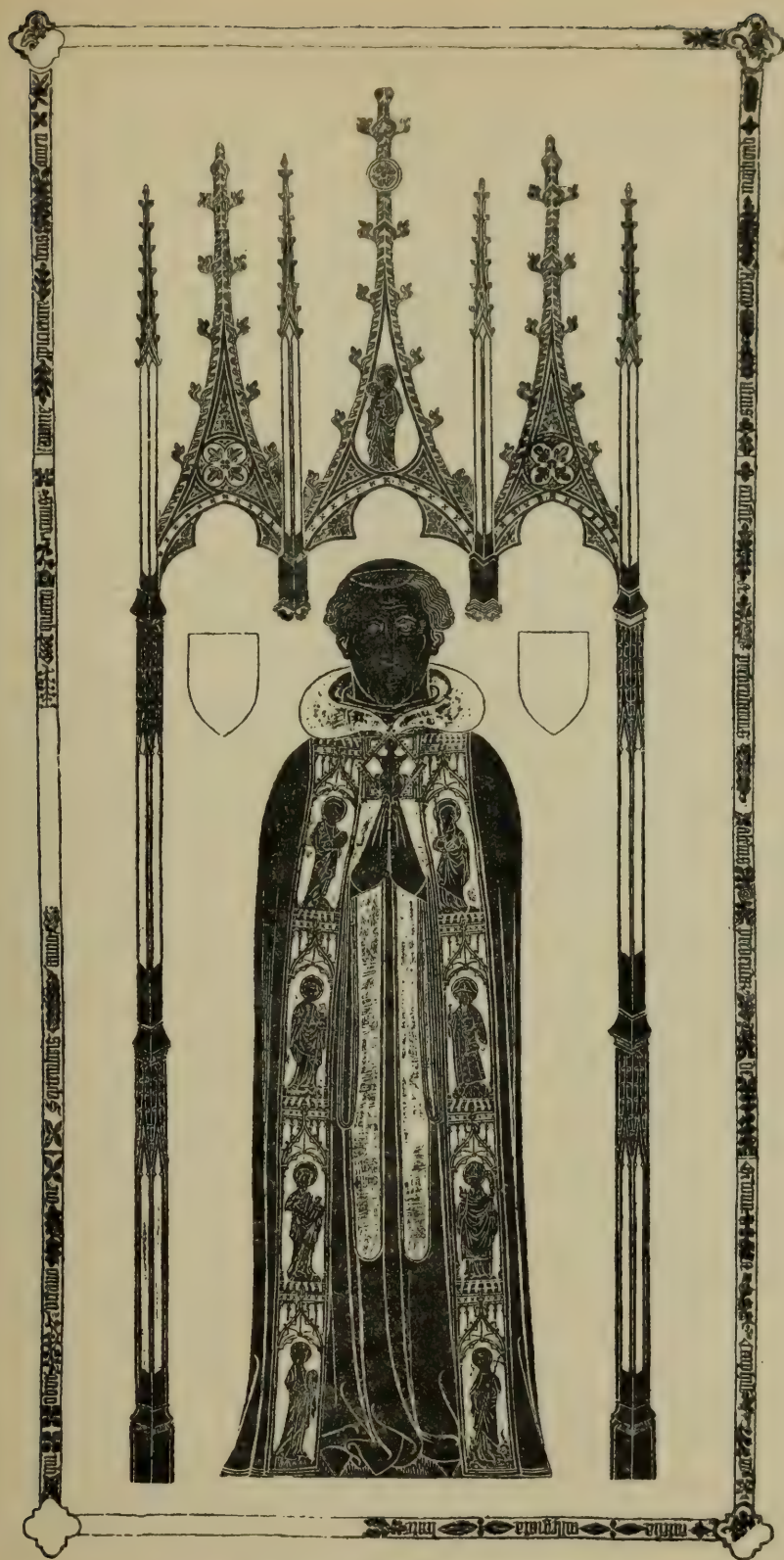
Exeter Cathedral, 1413, Wm. Langeton, Canon of Exeter, kn.

Havant, Hants., 1413, Thos. Aileward.

Flamstead, Herts., 1414, John Oudeby, Canon of Ware.

Knebworth, Herts., 1414, Simon Bache, Canon of St. Paul's.

Ringwood, Hants., 1416, John Prophete, Dean of Hereford and York.



HENRY DE CODRINGTON, RECTOR, 1404
BOTSFORD, LEICESTERSHIRE

122 THE BRASSES OF ENGLAND

- Great Shelford, Cambs., 1418, Thos. Pottesle, Prebendary of Southwell.
- Cotterstock, Northants., 1420, Robt. Wyntryngam, Canon of Lincoln.
- Pulborough, Sussex, 1423, Thos. Harlyng, Canon of Chichester.
- Thurcaston, Leics., 1425, John Mershten, Canon of Windsor.
- Tredington, Worcs., 1427, Rich. Cassey, Canon of York.
- Upwell, Norfolk, 1428, Hen. Mowbray.
- Broadwater, Sussex, 1432, John Mapylton, Chancellor to Joan of Navarre.
- Hereford Cathedral, 1434, John Stanwey, Dean of Hereford.
- Upwell, Norfolk, 1435, Henry Martyn.
- Warbleton, Sussex, 1436, Wm. Prestwyk, Dean of St. Mary's College in Hastings Castle.
- St. George's Canterbury, 1438, John Lovelle.
- Bottesford, Leics., *c.* 1440, John Freman.
- Harrow, Middlesex, 1442, Simon Marcheford, Canon of Sarum and Windsor.
- Ashbury, Berks., 1448, Wm. Skelton, LL.B.
- Winchester College, Hants., 1450, Robt. Thurbern, Warden.
- Chartham, Kent, 1454, Robt. Arthur.
- Theydon Gernon, Essex, 1458, Wm. Kirkaby.
- Balsham, Cambs., 1462, John Blodwell, Dean of St. Asaph.
- Harrow, Middlesex, 1468, John Byrkhed.
- Merton College, Oxford, 1471, Hen. Sever, S.T.P., Warden.
- Beeford, Yorks., 1472, Thos. Tonge, holding book.
- Charlton-on-Otmoor Oxon., 1475, Thos. Key, Canon of Lincoln.
- Wilburton, Cambs., 1477, Rich. Bole, Archdeacon of Ely.
- Buckland, Herts., 1478, Wm. Langley, with chalice.
- Magdalen College, Oxford, 1480, Wm. Tibarde, S.T.B., President.
- Faversham, Kent, *c.* 1480, Wm. Thornbury.
- Hanbury, Staffs., *c.* 1480, unknown.
- Kirkby Wharfe, Yorks., *c.* 1480, Wm. Gisborne, Canon of York.
- Quainton, Bucks., 1485, John Spence.
- Eccleston, Lancs., *c.* 1485, unknown.
- Girton, Cambs., 1492, Wm. Malster, Canon of York.
- New College, Oxford, 1494, Walter Hyll, M.A., Warden.
- Girton, Cambs., 1497, Wm. Stevyn, Canon of Lincoln.
- Hitchin, Herts, 1498, Jas. Hart, B.D.

God's House, Southampton, *c.* 1500, unknown.

Stevenage, Herts., *c.* 1500, Stephen Hellard, Canon of St. Asaph.

Wimpole, Cambs., 1501, Thos. Worsley.

All Saints, Stamford, Lincs., 1508, Hen. Wykys.

Tattershall, Lincs., *c.* 1510, unknown.

Orpington, Kent, 1511, Thos. Wilkynson, M.A., Prebendary of Ripon.

Croydon, Surrey, 1512, Gabriel Silvester.

Trinity Hall, Cambs., 1517, Walter Hewke, D.C.L.

Willesdon, Middlesex, 1517, Wm. Lichefield, LL.D., Canon of St. Paul's.

Queen's College, Oxford, 1518, Robt. Langton.

Wooburn, Bucks., 1519, Thomas Swayn, Prebendary of Aylesbury.

St. Just, Cornwall, *c.* 1520, unknown.

Dowdeswell, Glos., *c.* 1520, unknown.

Hackney, Middlesex, 1527, Christopher Urswic, Dean of Windsor.

New College, Oxford, 1521, John Rede, B.D., Warden.

Eton College, Bucks., 1522, Wm. Boutrod, "Pety-canon" of Windsor.

Higham Ferrers, Northants., 1523, Rich. Wylleys, Warden.

Hereford Cathedral, 1529, Edm. Frowsetoure, Dean of Hereford.

Withington, Salop., 1530, Adam Grafton, Chaplain to Edward V.

Wendron, Cornwall, 1535, Warin Penhallinyk, Prebendary of Glaseney.

Clothall, Herts., 1541, Thos. Dalyson, LL.B., Master of Hospital.

Winchester College, Hants., 1548, John White, Warden.

Sessay, Yorks., 1550, Thos. Magnus, Archdeacon of East Riding.

In a few of the examples, as at Clothall and St. George's, Canterbury, the almuce is not worn, and such brasses will show with more or less distinctness the neck of the surplice, which is gathered, or pleated, or even smocked.

In a very few others the alb and amice of the eucharistic vestments are substituted for cassock and surplice. Instances occur in the brasses at Horsham, 1411; Upwell, 1428 and 1435; and Beeford, 1472.

Canons of Windsor were entitled to wear, instead of a cope, the mantle of the Order of the Garter, of which they were members. It is to be recognized by a small cross on the left shoulder, but there are very few examples of its use. The

earliest is at Northstoke, Oxon., *c.* 1370, in the headless demi-figure of Roger Parkers; except for its badge, the mantle is quite plain, and is fastened by a tasselled cord passing through two pairs of lace-holes and falling on the breast. Another is at Eton College, 1540, to Roger Lupton, LL.D., Provost of Eton; his mantle is worn over a furred cassock, and is fastened by a small brooch. The third and last is at Magdalen College, Oxford, 1558, to the memory of Arthur Cole, S.T.B., President of the college. There is also a coped priest at Bennington, Herts., *c.* 1450, with a badge upon his shoulder, but it seems to be a kind of rose, and not the St. George's cross.

The cassock has been mentioned as the first of the choir vestments. As a matter of fact, it was the ordinary walking dress of the clergy, and was worn at all times, and under all other vestments, being, however, completely hidden by the long alb. There are a few brasses in which priests are represented in the cassock only.

Cardynham, Cornwall, *c.* 1400, Thos. Awmarle.

Cirencester, Glos., *c.* 1480, unknown.

North Creak, Norfolk, *c.* 1500, unknown.

Shorwell, Isle of Wight, 1518, Rich. Bethell.

Cley, Norfolk, *c.* 1520, John Yslyngton, S.T.P.

Northleach, Glos., *c.* 1530, Wm. Lawnder, kn.

Awmarle might easily be mistaken for a civilian, and carries an anelace at his girdle. Bethell and Yslyngton have each a scarf fastened by a small rose-brooch to the left shoulder, and thrown about the neck, the latter wearing also a doctor's cap. The North Creak priest, if indeed he be one, is even more unusual. He wears a hood, loosely fastened by a single button, and his rosary and bag hang from the belt of his cassock. He carries a church, of which he must have been the founder, upon his left arm. The brass has lost its inscription and is unidentified, but may have been moved to

the church from Creake Abbey after the dissolution. The last example is doubtful, and perhaps is intended to be in surplice.

ORNAMENTATION

The details of the ornamentation applied to ecclesiastical vestments are of great variety. Stole and maniple almost always match, and are of the same breadth, the pattern being continued throughout the entire length, with sometimes a



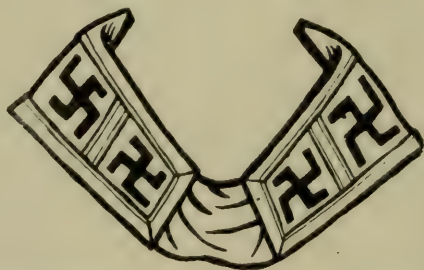
STOLE FROM (LOST) BRASS OF
ADAM DE BACON, *c.* 1310
FORMERLY AT OULTON, SUFFOLK



MANIPLE FROM BRASS OF PETER
DE LACY, 1375
NORTHFLEET, KENT

slight widening or a larger square compartment at the end. The apparels of alb and amice usually agree with one another, but often differ from the stole and maniple, while the other vestments have their distinctive patterns. Rows of lozenges, squares, or rounds, are of frequent occurrence, with four-leaved flowers or cinquefoils. Such patterns are stiff and formal, but often give place to elaborate floral designs. It is remarkable that the cross is seldom used, except in the form of the fylfot, a mysterious figure which appears in many different parts of the world and among many different peoples: on Runic monuments in Britain, in patterns of Greek vases and Roman pavements, in China ten centuries before the Christian era,

and in Buddhist inscriptions and coins in India and in Thibet. Each arm of the cross is turned at right angles, and forms the Greek letter gamma. Hence it is also called the "cross gammée." The fylfot is found in the patterns of many vestments, as at Merton College, Oxford, 1310; Horsmonden, Kent, *c.* 1340; Kemsing, Kent, 1347; Lewknor, Oxon., 1370; Shottesbrooke, Berks., *c.* 1370; Crondall, Hants., *c.* 1370; Stifford, Essex, 1375; Chartham, Kent, 1454. The illus-



AMICE FROM BRASS OF WALTER FRILENDE, 1376
OCKHAM, SURREY

tration is from the amice of Walter Frilende, at Ockham, Surrey, 1376.

But it is in the orphreys of copes that the most interesting designs will be found, for they were not only richer, but in a manner less sacred than vestments used exclusively at the eucharist. Upon them alone, with but few exceptions, were admitted personal devices, initials, names, heraldic symbols, as well as figures of apostles, saints, and angels, at full length.

Initials occur on the brasses at Horsham, where the letter C enters into the composition of the orphrey, Fulbourn, Balsham, New College, Tredington, Winchester College, and in the half-effigy of Thomas Mordon, LL.B., 1458, Treasurer of St. Paul's, at Fladbury, Worcestershire. At Broadwater, Sussex, a Lombardic M for Mapylton, the name of the priest commemorated, alternates with a maple-leaf, his rebus. The Fulbourn priest has the initials W. F. for William de Fulburne, occurring alternately in lozenge-shaped spaces at the intervals

of a bold floral design. He was an ecclesiastic of considerable importance, being a prebendary of St. Paul's, chaplain to King Edward III., and baron of the exchequer; he was also patron of Fulbourn Church. Both the wardens, Malford and Hyll, at New College, have a like arrangement of their initials, R. M. and W. H. A mutilated brass at Great Shelford, Cambs., 1418, exhibits the entire name, Thomas Patesle, with the letters separately inscribed in circles between lozenges.

Heraldic symbols are met with at Havant, where a wheat-sheaf alternates with fleurs-de-lys in lozenges, between circles with roses and leopard's masks. William de Fulburne, just mentioned, is more definitely heraldic, for his morse is charged with armorial bearings as if it were a shield, *argent, a saltire sable between 4 martlets gules*. A similar arrangement is found at Castle Ashby, in 1401, with the arms of William Ermyn, *Ermine, a saltire gules, on a chief of the last a lion passant gardant or*.

The burial-service text from Job is a favourite in monumental inscriptions; in one instance, the fine canopied brass at Warbleton, it occurs along the orphreys of the cope, with the Credo of the commencement inscribed on the morse.

The figures of saints often appear on the orphreys of copes in the largest and finest brasses, four or five on each side, and add conspicuously to their merits. Examples occur at Boston, *c.* 1400; Balsham, 1401; Castle Ashby, 1401; Ringwood, 1416; Harrow, 1468; Merton College, 1471; Tattershall, *c.* 1510; Trinity Hall, 1517, and elsewhere; the illustrated figure at Bottesford (p. 121) being an excellent specimen. The morse was commonly jewelled or otherwise ornamented, as a rich brooch might be expected to be. The letters IHS (or its variants) occur at Broadwater, 1432; Clothall, 1541, and other places; the full name IESUS at Sessay; the Sacred Face at Knebworth, Ringwood, and Tattershall; a half-length figure of the Saviour at Trinity Hall; the Holy Trinity at Bottesford. Or, as in the cope itself, a personal

device may be given, such as the coat-of-arms at Fulbourn, or at Havant the initials T. A. for Thos. Aileward, and at Balsham I. S. for John de Sleaford.

It is difficult to close this chapter without a further account of some of the great brasses of coped priests which rank amongst the finest memorials of their kind. But the list is too long, and it must be enough to speak of those two splendid brasses at Balsham, which have been already several times mentioned. They lie upon the chancel floor between the beautiful stalls and within the rood-screen, which were erected by the first of the two priests. This was John de Sleaford, rector of Balsham, Master of the Wardrobe to Edward III., Chaplain to Queen Philippa of Hainault, Canon of Wells and afterwards of Ripon, Prebendary of St. Stephen, Westminster, 1363, and Archdeacon of Wells, 1390. His brass measures in all nearly $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and the figure 5 feet 2 inches. There is an elaborate triple canopy, in which the central pediment supports a shrine or tabernacle, divided into two storeys by a transom, arched below. In the lower compartment the soul of the deceased is supported in a sheet by two angels, after the manner of those foreign compositions which the chaplain of Queen Philippa may well have seen and studied during his travels on the Continent. In the upper storey there is a representation of the Holy Trinity, to whom the church of Balsham is dedicated. The finials of the side pediments are gone, but there remain the figures of two seraphim which were poised upon them. Between the seraphim and the outer pinnacles of the canopy are shields. On the dexter side is *Quarterly—1st and 4th, semée of fleurs-de-lys, Old France; 2nd and 3rd, three lions passant gardant, England.* On the sinister is the same, impaling Hainault: *Quarterly—1st and 4th, or, a lion rampant sable, Flanders; 2nd and 3rd, or, a lion rampant gules, Holland.* The arms of the See of Ely, *gules, three crowns or*, are also displayed, upon a shield of which the companion is lost. Sleaford's figure is of

no less interest than his canopy, for the orphreys of his cope are ornamented with five pairs of saints under embattled canopies supported by singular twisted shafts. The name in black letter is inscribed underneath each as follows :—

S' Maria cū fil	S' Johēs Bap̄
S' Johēs Ewg	S' Etheldreda
S' Katarina	S' Petrus
S' Paulus	S' Margarita
S' Maria Mag'	S' Wilfridus

On the morse there is the personal monogram IS. It is repeated upon two roundels, one on either side of the figure, and also occurred twelve times upon the now slightly mutilated marginal inscription, where it marks the beginnings of the hexameters in which it is written. The brass is much worn, and is not very familiar, perhaps on account of the isolation of the village, which is situated about twelve miles from Cambridge, on the Newmarket Downs.

The second brass is equally large, and measures altogether 8 feet 9 inches by 4 feet 1 inch. John Blodwell was born at Llan-y-Blodwell, near Oswestry, was Dean of St. Asaph in 1418, Prebendary of Lichfield and of Hereford, Canon of St. David's, and finally Rector of Balsham, 1439-1462. His canopy is of a totally different character to that of his predecessor. It is embattled with a single arch, rising from broad shafts, in each of which are four niches, containing saints and labelled with their names, as on Sleaford's cope—

S' Johēs Baptista	S̄s Johēs Ev̄ng
S̄s petrus	Scs Andreas
S' Assaph Epc	Ss Nicholaus Epc
Scā Brigida	Sca Wenefreda

The cope also has saints, in embattled and canopied niches down the orphreys, but they are so worn that it is almost impossible to make out the names. The two uppermost are St. Michael and St. Gabriel, the two next are archbishops,

and the next bishops; the two lowest are St. Catherine and St. Margaret. The surface of this cope is ornamented with lions' heads in roundels. The inscription is at the foot, and is most curious, being cast in dialogue form as though between Blodwell and his guardian angel, the former's words being in relief and those of the angel incised. A border fillet surrounds the whole composition.

APPENDIX (I)

THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS

IT would be almost impossible to over-estimate the power and influence of the English monasteries during the era of brasses up till the time of the general dissolution in the reign of Henry VIII. In the first volume of this series of "Antiquary's Books," upon *English Monastic Life*, Abbot Gasquet enumerates more than eighteen hundred religious houses, nearly all of which were still in their prime in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. But in Henry's reign "there was no room for either the virtues or the vices of monasticism," and the reports of Thomas Cromwell's Royal Commissioners were laid before Parliament in 1536, with the result that all houses whose incomes fell below £200 a year were at once suppressed, and their revenues granted to the Crown. In 1539 the greater abbeys became involved in the same ruin with the smaller, and their property was confiscated or destroyed. The vast majority of their churches were wantonly swept away, and with them the monumental brasses which had adorned the gravestones of multitudes of the departed brethren. Even where the churches remained, as in the case of the great cathedral abbeys, the brasses were usually destroyed, and in many instances a long array of despoiled slabs still testifies to the maliciousness of their desecration. Less than thirty monastic brasses now remain, including those of six abbots, two priors, a sub-prior, seven monks and two friars, two abbesses, a prioress, four nuns, and five or more vowesses, for the whole of England.

In the list which follows, the three abbots already mentioned as affording examples of the episcopal vestments are not included. Neither are four mutilated fragments which occur on the reverse

sides of palimpsest brasses at St. John's Maddermarket, Norwich, *c.* 1320; at Tolleshunt Darcy, *c.* 1400, and at Upminster, *c.* 1410, in Essex; and at Binfield, Berks., *c.* 1420. These also were all of abbots (or bishops) in eucharistic vestments, the first being part of the reverse of Robt. Rugge, 1558, the next of a lady, *c.* 1535, the third of a civilian, *c.* 1540, and the last of an inscription to Rich. Thurnor, 1558. The monastic brasses, then, are these—

Quinton, Glos., *c.* 1430, Joan Clopton, widow, vowess.

Cowfold, Sussex, 1433, Thos. Nelond, Cluniac Prior of Lewes.

Nether Wallop, Hants., 1436, Dame Maria Gore, prioress.

St. Laurence, Norwich, 1437, Geoff. Langley, Benedictine Prior of Horsham St. Faith.

Denham, Bucks., *c.* 1440, John Pyke, friar.

St. John's Maddermarket, Norwich, *c.* 1440, a nun, daughter of lady on reverse of inscription to Nich. Suttherton, 1540.

Wenden Lofts, Essex, *c.* 1450, an abbot in pontificals, perhaps John Lucas, Abbot of Waltham, one of the sons of Wm. Lucas.

Great Amwell, Herts., *c.* 1450, a friar.

St. Albans Abbey, *c.* 1450, a Benedictine monk.

Halvergate, Norfolk, *c.* 1460, Brother Wm. Jernemut, demi, on reverse of Alice Swane, 1540.

Yeovil, Somerset, *c.* 1460, Martin Forester, monk, demi, on a lectern.

St. Albans Abbey, *c.* 1470, Robt. Beauver, Benedictine monk.

St. Albans Abbey, *c.* 1470, a Benedictine monk, demi.

Dagenham, Essex, 1479, a nun, one of children of Sir Thos. Urswyk.

Hornby, Yorks., 1489, a nun, one of children of Thos. Mountford.

Witton (Blofield), Norfolk, *c.* 1500, Juliana Anyell, widow, vowess.

Great Cotes, Lincs., 1503, a nun, one of children of Sir Thos. Barnardiston.

Minchinhampton, Glos., *c.* 1510, a monk and a nun, amongst children of John Hampton.

Dorchester, Oxon., *c.* 1510, Rich. Bewfforeste, Augustinian Abbot of Dorchester.

Over Winchendon, Bucks., 1515, John Stodeley, Augustinian Canon of St. Frideswide's, Oxford.

Frenze, Norfolk, 1519, Joan Braham, widow, vowess.

St. Albans Abbey, 1521, Thos. Rutlond, Benedictine sub-prior.

Elstow, Beds., *c.* 1525, Dame Elizth. Herwy, Benedictine abbess.

St. Mary de Crypt, Gloucester, 1529, Joan Cook, widow, vowess.

Shalston, Bucks., 1540, Susan Kyngeston, widow, vowess.

Denham, Bucks., *c.* 1540, Dame Agnes Jordan, Abbess of Sion.

Burwell, Cambs., 1542, John Lawrence, Benedictine Abbot of Ramsey.

Isleworth, Middlesex, 1561, Marg. Dely, nun, Treasurer of Sion.

There is a doubtful ecclesiastic at Watton, Herts., *c.* 1370, usually described as wearing a plain cope, but more probably in monastic attire. A small fragment, showing the head of a nun, *c.* 1380, was found on the site of Kilburn Priory, and is preserved at St. Mary's, Kilburn. There is also a figure at South Creak, Norfolk, 1509, given in an inscription of local origin as John Norton, clerk, vested in a cope, and holding a crozier, assuredly in some way monastic.

The dress of monks usually consisted of the tunic, the scapular, the gown, the cowl and its hood, and these varied in colour and material according to the Order to which the wearer belonged. The Benedictines or Black Monks were the most important and numerous, holding many of the greatest abbeys. At St. Albans they are fairly well represented by a sub-prior, a third prior, and two others, on all of whom the cowl appears with long sleeves, like those of a surplice, and the hood worn low upon the shoulders, as though to serve also as a tippet; the sleeves of the tunic are also seen at the wrists. Beauver the third prior is stated in his inscription to have served the convent as kitchener, refectorer, infirmarer, and spicerer at various times during forty-six years. This inscription is perhaps of sufficient interest to be given in full:—

“Hic iacet ffrater Robertus Beauuer q̄dm̄ hui' Monasterii Monachus qui q̄draginta sex annis | continuis & Ultra ministrabat in diūsis officiis maioribus & minorib' cōuent' monasterii | p̄scripti Videlic' In Officiis Tercii p̄oris Coquarii Reffectorarii & Inffirmarii Et in | officiis subreffectorarii & s̄perii cōuent' Pro cui' aīa ffratres carissimi ffunie pces dignemini | ad iudicem altissimū piissimū dm̄ ih̄m cristū Ut concedat sibi suor' veniam peccator' amen.”

It is a little uncertain how the word for his last office in the convent should be extended, but “spicerii,” spicerer, seems to meet the difficulty best. The contractions are somewhat arbitrary throughout. The monk, who is very tall and thin, holds in his hands a bleeding heart, which was inlaid with colour, and is charged with six drops of blood.

The Prior of Horsham St. Faith was also a Benedictine, and is dressed in the same way. His brass was saved from destruction by being removed from the priory church to Norwich.

Lawrence, the Benedictine Abbot of Ramsey, was originally represented in full eucharistic vestments, but, surviving the dissolution

of the monastery, his brass was altered, and he appears in cassock, surplice, and almuze. Part of the first engraving, however, still exists on the reverse side of the lower portion of his effigy, and the outline of a mitre can be seen above the cushion on which his head now rests.

The Cluniac was an adaptation of the Benedictine Rule, and Prior Nelond at Cowfold precisely resembles the monks of St. Albans. His brass is a very magnificent one, as the illustration shows, and its canopy the finest in existence of purely English character. It will be noticed that the central pediment is itself triple, and supports a shrine containing the Blessed Virgin and Child, while figures—of St. Pancras and St. Thomas of Canterbury—supply the finials of the others. The outside measurements of the brass are 10 ft. 2 in. by 4 ft. 3 in. It seems to be by the same hand as the almost equally fine, though mutilated, canopy of Abbot John Stoke at St. Albans, of which the date is 1451.

The one Augustinian abbot, at the Oxford Dorchester, wears a plain hooded cope, over the ordinary choir vestments of cassock, surplice, and almuze, his crozier reclining on his right arm; he is not mitred. At Over Winchendon, where there is a canon of the same Order, the dress is a fur-lined cassock, a shorter tunic or rochet fastened by a belt at the waist, and a plain cope and hood like those of Richard Bewfforeste. Unlike the stricter Orders, Austin canons were allowed to live away from their own communities, and this one was vicar of his parish. ✓

The Abbey of Nuns at Elstow was under the Benedictine Rule. Its abbess, Dame Elizabeth Herwy, might be mistaken for a widow in common life were it not for the crozier on her right arm. The dress seems to have consisted of a long white gown, a black mantle or cloak, a white plaited barbe or chin-cloth, a veil headdress, and a ring. Dame Agnes Jordan, Abbess of Sion, is attired in the same way, but has no crozier, perhaps because her abbey was already suppressed. One of her nuns, the treasurer of her house, Margaret Dely, died still later, and wears no mantle. Her brass is extremely small.

The other monastic brasses call for little remark, more especially as their identification is incomplete, and it cannot be stated to what Orders they belonged. The friar at Denham, in gown, tippet, hood, and knotted cord, is on the reverse of a late brass to a lady, Amphillis



THOMAS NELOND, CLUNIAN PRIOR OF LEWES, 1433
COWFOLD, SUSSEX

Peckham, 1545. The inscription and a shield are alike palimpsest, and the latter bears, on the friar's side, a staff and birch-rod in saltire, hence the supposition that Pyke—if Pyke it were—was a school-master. The Gt. Amwell friar is dressed in the same way, barefoot, with his gown tucked through and hiding the cord round his waist, the end only, in both instances, being visible. His height is only 15½ in.

With regard to the vowesses, it should be explained that widow ladies frequently at the time of their mourning attached themselves to a nunnery, and took monastic vows, dedicating themselves to God. Like nuns, they were entitled to the appellation of "Dame," and are usually so called. It is probable that Alianore de Bohun, Duchess of Gloucester, whose fine canopied brass is in Westminster Abbey (cf. p. 57), should be included in the list. After the murder of her husband in 1397 she retired to the nunnery of Barking, in Essex, where she died.

APPENDIX (2)

THE UNIVERSITIES

IT seems to be an established fact that most of the distinctive University costumes were originally derived from ecclesiastical and monastic dress, and that the schools were held within the precincts of religious houses, or in churches. At Cambridge the Benedictines maintained the College of St. Mary Magdalene, then known as Monks' or Buckingham College, and there were houses of the Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, Gilbertines, Austin Friars, Friars of the Sack, Bethlehemite Friars, and Friars of Our Lady. The first independent college, Peterhouse, was formed by a body of scholars who had seceded from the monastic Hospital of St. John. At Oxford the Benedictines, always first in learning and teaching, held Canterbury and Durham Colleges and Gloucester Hall, the Austin Canons St. Mary's College, as well as the Priory of St. Frideswide's, and the Cistercians St. Bernard's College. As at the sister University, there were also Dominicans, Franciscans, and Carmelites, Austin Friars, and Friars of the Sack. There were also Crutched Friars.

In academical brasses, therefore, we should expect to find an ecclesiastical element predominant, and indeed with hardly an

exception it is of *priests* in academicals that we now have to treat. Of these about seventy-five examples can be so described as distinct from priests in almuces or in copes. Rather more than one-third are at Cambridge and Oxford, the latter having the larger number, and the rest are widely scattered.

But an insuperable difficulty meets us at once. A system of degrees was established before the era of brasses began, but the distinction in habit between one degree and another was chiefly expressed, as it still is, by the colour and material of the garments worn, rather than by their number and shape. As this is not shown upon brasses, it is usually impossible to assign the exact degree of a person in academicals, unless it is stated in the inscription.

A very frequent dress consists of the cassock and a garment of about the length of a surplice, but with much shorter sleeves, open and pointed, reaching to the elbow, and generally of some thin material. It may represent a linen rochet, or it may be a plain cloth "tabard." Over the shoulders is a cape or tippet, much shorter than an almuce, and with a plain edge. It usually has a hood attached.

A second dress is distinguished by the fact that the outer garment has no sleeves, though it is equally short. It is then certainly the academical tabard. The wide sleeves of the cassock are thrust through it, and the tippet and hood are worn as before. Thos. Mason, M.A., 1501, and Nich. Goldwell, M.A., 1523, at Magdalen College, Oxford, John London, M.A. and S.T.S., 1508, at New College, may be given as examples.

David Lloyd, LL.B., 1510, at All Souls, a demi-figure in the dress first described, has beside him a student (*scolasticus*) of civil law, in a cassock, civilian's cloak looped upon the left shoulder, and hood, and is without the tonsure. He, and perhaps Goldwell, who is also untonsured, are merely exceptions to the rule that academical brasses are usually those of priests.

A more distinctive gown reaches to the feet, and, like the last, has two openings at the sides without sleeves, the tippet and hood being worn over. It is then either the pallium or another form of the tabard, called the "taberdum talare," and is believed to imply a higher class of degree, possibly that of B.D. It is worn by John Bloxham at Merton College, who held that degree, but also by the small kneeling figure of Wm. Blakwey, 1521, at Little Wilbraham, who

was only an M.A., and by a few others. The Doctorate in Divinity, D.D., S.T.P., is more definitely expressed. A plain sleeveless gown is worn, sometimes called the "cappa clausa," from which the arms appear through a single opening in front, which reaches only to a short distance below the waist. The tippet is frequently of fur, and a cap is worn, either fitting closely to the head, or raised about two inches and brought to a low point in the middle. The skull-cap is worn by Dr. Billingford at St. Benet's, Cambridge, and Dr. Hautryve at New College, Oxford, the raised cap by Dr. Towne and Dr. Argentein at King's, and apparently by most other Doctors, whether in academics, or in surplice and almuce, or in cope. Dr. Argentein is here illustrated, and is a good example, for his belted cassock can be well seen through the opening of the cappa clausa. He was elected Provost of King's College in 1501, and proceeded to the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1504, dying in 1507. Being also a Doctor of Medicine, he was formerly physician to Arthur, Prince of Wales. The length of the figure is 2 feet 4 inches, and it is now screwed to a board and kept in one of the side chantries of King's College Chapel. A marginal inscription, now lost, ran thus:—

"Orate p' aīa iohīs Argentein artiū magistri medicinarū doctoris alme scriptare professoris et huius collegii prepositi qui obiit An° dñi millmō quingentesimo vii° et die mēsis ffebruar' secūdo cuius aīe ppiciet' de' Amē."

Doctors of Law and other faculties than that of Divinity wear the cap, but seem to have used the pallium instead of the cappa clausa.

At New College, Oxford, there is a fifteenth-century manuscript (c. 1464) entitled *Brevis Chronica de ortu, vita, et gestis nobilibus reverendi viri Willelmi de Wykeham*, at the beginning of which there is a most interesting drawing (one of four) representing a bird's-eye view of the college, and of the whole Society paraded in front of it in their various habits. It has been carefully illustrated in the *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, vol. iv., Part III. According to the statutes of William of Wykeham, the Society was to consist of precisely 100 persons, viz. a warden, 70 scholars, 10 chaplains, 3 clerks, and 16 choristers. The scholars were to be divided into ten Students of Canon Law, ten of Civil Law, and fifty



Arcade media scripturæ interpres abbas
 Argenteum corp' sepebit lapis iste ioh'is
 Qui transis rotas mortis ætati ora
 Spiritus in xpo vivat nūq' mortui

JOHN ARGENTIN, D.D., PROVOST, 1507
 KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

of Philosophy (or Arts) and Theology. All these hundred persons are arranged in groups, with the Warden in the centre, facing the rest, and dressed in cassock, tabard, tippet, and cap. Four Doctors of Divinity are in the cappa clausa, tippet, and cap. Fifteen other doctors are in the pallium or tabard—for none of them are visible quite at full length—tippet, hood, and cap. Six Bachelors of Divinity are hidden, all but their bare heads, behind the Doctors. Thirteen Masters of Arts turn their backs to the spectator, and show the tabard, tippet, and a hood, with one liri pipe hanging nearly to the waist. Ten Bachelors of Canon Law and eight of Civil Law are distinguished by what appears to be a sleeved tabard, or cappa manicata, with tippet and hood. This is possibly the dress first described on p. 136. Fourteen Bachelors of Arts are similarly dressed, but turn their backs, and show a liri pipe like that of the M.A. group. The chaplains and clerks wear surplices, and two of them scarves, and the choristers are also in surplices.

The drawing is not coloured, but may be taken to some extent as a key to the broader divisions of academical attire. At least the Doctorate stands out clearly, as it does in brasses. The sleeved tabard also appears to indicate Bachelors of either Canon or Civil Law or of Arts. The Arts hoods have their liri pipes, but these, of course, are not to be seen in a front view.

In the list of brasses which follows there are some doubtful instances, but it has been made as complete as possible, and all those figures have been included which can in any way be described as being "in academicals."

Great Brington, Northants., *c.* 1340, unknown, in cap.

Chinnor, Oxon., 1361, John Hotham, Provost of Queen's, "Mag. in Theol.," in cap, demi.

Merton College, Oxford, 1372, unknown, sm. in head of cross.

Upper Hardres, Kent, 1405, John Strete, M.A., kneeling, in skull-cap.

St. John's College, Cambridge, *c.* 1410, Eudo de la Zouch, Master, mut.

Ledbury, Heref., *c.* 1410, Wm. Calwe, kn. sm.

Lydd, Kent, 1420, John Mottesfont, B.C.L.

Great Hadham, Herts., *c.* 1420, unknown, demi.

Merton College, Oxford, *c.* 1420, John Bloxham, B.D., and John Whytton.

New College, Oxford, 1427, John Lowthe, "Juris Civilis Prof.," in skull-cap.

St. Benet's, Cambridge, 1432, Rich. Billingford, D.D., kn. in skull-cap.

Royston, Herts., 1432, Wm. Taverham.

140 THE BRASSES OF ENGLAND

Little St. Mary's, Cambridge, *c.* 1440, John Holbrook, mutil.
 New College, Oxford, 1441, Wm. Hautryve, D.D., in skull-cap.
 Merton College, Oxford, 1445, John Kyllingworth, M.A., demi.
 New College, Oxford, 1447, Geoff. Hargreve, S.T.S.
 Thaxted, Essex, *c.* 1450, unknown.
 Herne, Kent, *c.* 1450, John Darley, in skull-cap.
 Boxley, Kent, 1451, Wm. Snell, M.A.
 New College, Oxford, 1451, Walter Wake, S.T.S., demi.
 Pakefield, Suffolk, 1451, Rich. Folcard, M.A., demi.
 Brancepath, Durham, 1456, Rich. Drax, LL.B., demi.
 Surlingham, Norfolk, 1460, John Alnwik, M.A.
 Harrow, Middlesex, *c.* 1460, unknown, demi.
 Ewelme, Oxon., *c.* 1460, Wm. Branwhait, demi.
 New College, Oxford, 1468, Thos. Hylle, S.T.P., in skull-cap.
 Stourmouth, Kent, 1472, Thos. Mareys.
 Cheriton, Kent, 1474, John Child, M.A., sm.
 Magdalen College, Oxford, 1478, Thos. Sondes, Scholar of Div.
 Magdalen College, Oxford, 1478, Ralph Vawdrey, M.A., demi.
 New College, Oxford, 1478, Rich. Wyard, B.C.L.
 New College, Oxford, 1479, John Palmer, B.A.
 Little St. Mary's, Cambridge, *c.* 1480, unknown D.D., in skull-cap.
 Little Shelford, Cambs., *c.* 1480, unknown.
 Barking, Essex, *c.* 1480, unknown, with chalice.
 Strethall, Essex, *c.* 1480, unknown.
 Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, London, 1482, Nich. Wotton, LL.B.
 Great Horwood, Bucks., 1487, Hen. Virgine, sm.
 Blockley, Worcs., 1488, Philip Worthyn, M.A., kn.
 All Souls College, Oxford, 1490, Rich. Spekynton, LL.B., sm.
 Welford, Berks., *c.* 1490, John Westlake, sm.
 Fovant, Wilts., 1492, Geo. Rede, qd. pl.
 King's College, Cambridge, 1496, Wm. Towne, D.D., in cap.
 Barningham, Suffolk, 1499, Wm. Goche.
 Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, London, *c.* 1500, unknown.
 Magdalen College, Oxford, *c.* 1500, Geo. Jassy, demi.
 Abingdon, Berks., 1501, Wm. Heyward, S.T.D.
 Magdalen College, Oxford, 1501, Thos. Mason, M.A.
 Magdalen College, Oxford, 1502, Walter Charyls, M.A., sm. demi.
 Stokesby, Norfolk, 1506, Thos. Gerard, B.C.L., mutil.
 King's College, Cambridge, 1507, John Argentein, D.D., in cap.
 New College, Oxford, 1508, John London, M.A., S.T.S.
 Ashby St. Legers, Northants., 1510, Walter Smyght.
 All Souls College, Oxford, 1510, David Lloyde, LL.B., and Thos. Baker,
 S.C.L., demi.
 Wantage, Berks., *c.* 1510, unknown, sm.

Broxbourne, Herts., *c.* 1510, unknown.
 St. Michael Penkevil, Cornwall, 1515, John Trembras, M.A.
 Ewelme, Oxon., 1517, John Spence, B.D.
 Tong, Salop., 1517, Arthur Vernon, M.A., with chalice.
 Bredgar, Kent, 1518, Thos. Coly, with chalice.
 Merton College, Oxford, 1519, John Bowke, M.A., demi, with chalice.
 Cley, Norfolk, *c.* 1520, John Yslington, S.T.P., in cap, with chalice.
 Little Wilbraham, Cambs., 1521, Wm. Blakwey, M.A., kn. sm.
 East Rainham, Norfolk, 1522, Robt. Godfrey, LL.B., with scarf.
 St. Alphege, Canterbury, 1523, Robt. Gosebourne.
 Magdalen College, Oxford, 1523, Nich. Goldwell, M.A., sm.
 Winchester College, Hants., 1524, John Barratte, B.A., kn. sm.
 Eton College, Bucks., 1525, Walter Smith, M.A.
 Childrey, Berks., 1529, Bryan Roos, LL.D.
 Barcheston, Warw., 1530, Hugh Humfray, M.A. and S.T.B.
 Trinity Hall, Cambridge, *c.* 1530, unknown.
 Offord Darcy, Hunts., *c.* 1530, Wm. Taylard, LL.D., kn. in cap.
 Queens' College, Cambridge, *c.* 1535, unknown sm.
 Christ's College, Cambridge, *c.* 1540, unknown.
 Eton College, Bucks., 1545, Thos. Edgcomb, demi.
 Westminster Abbey, 1561, Wm. Bill, S.T.D.

It must be remembered that many other academic persons are included amongst the priests given in almuces and copes, the choir and processional vestments being amply represented in the college chapels, and sometimes in conjunction with the doctor's cap. There are also a few of later date, belonging to the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods. These almost invariably have mural brasses, and represent men in the ordinary civilian gown of the time, from which apparently has developed both the Genevan preaching-gown and the University gown of present use. The latter has no affinity whatever with the ancient "tabard."

CHAPTER VII

THE LANCASTRIAN PERIOD

1400-1453

THE number of brasses becomes greatly increased in the period which we have now reached, and it includes very many splendid examples. No finer English canopies exist than those already mentioned in the memorials of Prior Nelond, 1433, at Cowfold, and of Abbot Stoke, 1451, at St. Albans. Indeed, several of the very best ecclesiastical brasses are referred to this period, and the same may be said of both military and civil brasses as well. And yet in the manner of engraving there begin to be signs of that general deterioration which in the next period plainly shows itself. The mediæval arts had passed their best point. There was less freedom, greater constraint and conventionality. Gothic architecture was beyond its prime, and had adopted forms less graceful than before. So with brasses we find that the lines of the engraver's work were stiffer, narrower, and cut less deeply and boldly than in the Plantagenet period. Side by side with the great brasses of the time there appear a few of inferior work, and many of small size and comparatively little interest.

By way of compensation the brasses become more and more representative in character. The knights and country gentlemen of England are to be found in abundance. So are its merchants and traders. The bulk of ecclesiastical brasses are of plain parish priests. In fact, it is the upper middle

class, always the strength of England, which will be chiefly found.

Of about five hundred brasses recorded as belonging to the Lancastrian period, only five appear to commemorate members of the nobility. These, however, are of special interest, and deserve a few words of description.

The first is a fine brass at St. Mary's, Warwick, once upon an altar-tomb, and adorned with canopy and marginal inscription, but now, with its accessories lost, relaid and the slab fixed high up on the wall of the south transept. It commemorates Thos. de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, 1401, in the full armour suited to his rank and importance, and with armorial bearings upon his jupon, and Countess Margaret, daughter of William Lord Ferrers of Groby, in heraldic mantle and kirtle. Her hair is partially confined within a rich net, and on her forehead is a bandeau of jewels. The earl's jupon is charged with *Gules, a fesse between six cross crosslets or*, the arms of Beauchamp, and the lady's mantle is embroidered with the same; her kirtle displays those of Ferrers, *Gules, seven mascles, three three and one, or*. These heraldic charges in both the figures are all wrought with an elaborate diaper, produced by delicately puncturing the surface of the plate, and by means of the same process additional ornament is also imparted to the costume. It has been pointed out that the intricacy of the design and the beauty of the workmanship evince the hand of no common artist, and that the pattern is similar to that which appears upon the cast-metal effigy of Anne of Bohemia, the Queen of Richard II., in Westminster Abbey, already described upon p. 60. As the brass is only three or four years later than the royal tomb, it is not impossible that both monuments were executed under the superintendence of the same designer. The figure of the earl, besides the flowing pattern of its diapered decoration, is pounced repeatedly with the ragged staff, the badge of the House of Warwick; and his feet rest on a chained bear, the other

ancient cognizance of his family. With the exception of its occasional introduction into the works of the great German brass engravers, this brass appears to be the only example of enrichment by this species of diaper.

The next brass is that of Bartholomew, Lord Bourgchier, 1409, and his two wives, at Halstead, Essex, and represents the same general style of armour and dress, though with much less magnificence and a few later details. The first wife was Margaret Sutton, and the second Idonea Lovey.

The third is at Spilsby, Lincolnshire, 1410, to William, 5th Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, and his first wife Lucy, daughter of Roger, Lord Strange of Knocking. The whole brass is peculiar, and probably of local origin, by a school of engravers settled in Lincolnshire. The armour is very rich, and the bascinet upon Lord Willoughby's head is encircled with a coronal of stiff roses. The lady's elaborately netted head-dress is surmounted by a low fine coronet. The figures are not large, but rest upon an architectural base, in which shields are inserted, and below a beautiful doubly-triple canopy (six pediments), of which the side-shafts only are lost.

At Merevale Abbey Church, Warwick, is the large and fine brass of Robert Lord Ferrers of Chartley, and his lady, 1412, but without any distinctive marks of nobility.

Lord and Lady Camoys, 1419, at Trotton, are not only represented by a very fine brass upon an altar-tomb, with double canopy and embattled super-canopy, but are of prime historic interest as well; for Lord Camoys accompanied Henry V. in his first great expedition to France, commanded the left wing of the English army at Agincourt, and for his bravery was created a Knight of the Garter. The brass is an apt illustration of the words which Shakespeare has put into the mouth of King Henry V. (act iv. scene 3) in his address to the Herald of the Constable of France just before the battle—

“A many of our bodies shall, no doubt,
Find native graves; upon the which, I trust,
Shall witness live *in brass* of this day's work.”

The Garter, with its legend, is buckled below the left knee, and twice encircles the Camoys coat of arms between the shafts and finials of the canopy above. Elizabeth Lady Camoys was the daughter of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, and had formerly been the wife of Henry Percy, the “Harry Hotspur” of familiar history.

The mention of these armed figures brings us to the consideration of arms and armour, an especially important matter in the Lancastrian period, when the history of the times was so largely military. When Henry IV. established himself upon the throne, the Plantagenet armour—bascinet, camail, and jupon—was still in full use, and was worn at the battles of Otterbourne, in 1402, and Shrewsbury, 1403, when Douglas was captured and Hotspur slain, and in the miscellaneous fighting which took place in many revolts against the authority of the king. But before the Hundred Years' War with France broke out afresh, just before Agincourt in 1415, the type of armour had completely changed. Then, and until the last battle on French soil in 1453, the knights and gentlemen, having abandoned the camail and jupon, were armed instead in complete plate armour, a type thus associated almost exclusively with the later French wars. It is interesting to notice the dates. The Treaty of Troyes, by which Henry V. was declared heir to the French crown, was signed in 1420, when Henry married the French king's daughter Catherine. His premature death occurred two years later, Henry VI. succeeding in 1422 as an infant of nine months old. Orleans was relieved, by the energy and enthusiasm of Jeanne Darc, in 1429, and Charles VII. crowned at Rheims. But the English still held Paris, and there Henry's solemn coronation took place in 1431, after which came the death of the Duke of Bedford and the beginning of the end. The struggle

lasted for twenty years longer, until Normandy and the north were finally lost in 1451. In Gascony in 1453 the men of the last English army were mown down by the French guns, and its leader, Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, left dead upon the field.

To such a history the monuments must bear some witness, and this will be found in the armed figures, to the number of about one hundred and sixty, of the brasses of the Lancastrian period. As a general rule, only names and dates are mentioned in the inscriptions, but here and there an interesting title is added or known. Thus we have Sir Peter Courtenay, 1409, Captain of Calais—"Camerarius intitulus Calesie gratus Capitanus"—at Exeter Cathedral; Sir Thos. Swynborne, 1412, "Mair de Burdeux & Capitaigne de Fronsak," at Little Horkesley, Essex; Sir Thos. Peryent, 1415, Esquire-at-arms to Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V., and also Master of the Horse to Queen Joan of Navarre, at Digswell, Herts.; Sir Symon Felbrygge, K.G., 1416, Standard-bearer to Richard II., at Felbrigg, Norfolk; Matthew Swetenham, 1416, "Portitor Arcus" and Esquire to Henry V., at Blakesley, Northants.; Sir Thos. le Straunge, 1426, Constable of Ireland, at Wellesbourne, Warwickshire; Sir Thos. Brounflet, 1430, Cup-bearer to Richard II., at Wimington, Beds.; and John Thockmorton, Esq., 1445, Under-Treasurer of England, at Fladbury, Worcestershire; besides priests like Canon Bache, 1414, Treasurer of the Household to Henry V., at Knebworth, Herts., or John Mapylton, 1432, Chancellor to Queen Joan, at Broadwater, Sussex.

In dividing the armed figures of the period into three sections, we shall find a certain correspondence in the dresses of the ladies who accompany them. The following list contains most, if not all, of the best brasses of the earlier type, in which the armour of the men is still that of the Plantagenet age, and includes the pointed bascinet, camail, and jupon, with the broad bawdric across the hips:—

148 THE BRASSES OF ENGLAND

South Ockendon, Essex, 1400, Sir Ingelram Bruyn, under canopy.
 Playford, Suffolk, 1400, Sir Geo. Felbrigg.
 Gunby St. Peter, Lincs., c. 1400, Sir Thos. Massingberd and wife,
 under double canopy.
 Laughton, Lincs., c. 1400, man in armour, under triple canopy.
 Dyrham, Glos., 1401, Sir Morys Russel and wife.
 Blickling, Norfolk, 1401, Sir Nich. Dagworth.
 Hurstmonceux, Sussex, 1402, Sir Wm. Fienlez, under canopy.
 Sawtry All Saints, Hunts., 1404, man in armour, and wife.
 Cobham, Kent, 1405, Sir Reg. Braybrok, under canopy.
 Rougham, Suffolk, 1405, Sir Roger Drury and wife.
 Strensham, Worcs., 1405, Sir John Russell.
 Cobham, Kent, 1407, Sir Nich. Hawberk, under canopy.
 Baginton, Warw., 1407, Sir Wm. Bagot and wife.
 Addington, Kent, 1409, Wm. Snayth, Esq., and wife, under double
 canopy.
 Burgate, Suffolk, 1409, Sir Wm. de Burgate and wife.
 Little Casterton, Rutland, c. 1410, Sir Thos. Burton and wife.
 Little Horkesley, Essex, 1412, Sir Robt. Swynborne, under triple
 canopy.

At Laughton and Blickling the jupon, instead of being scalloped or plain at the lower edge, is finished with a pattern of leaves. In two other instances, at Playford and in the restored brass at Baginton, it is charged with heraldry, in the first, with a *lion rampant*, and in the second with a *chevron between 3 martlets, a crescent for difference*. This is the Bagot whose name appears as one of the "creatures" of the king in Shakespeare's *Richard II*. He entertained Bolingbroke at his castle of Baginton on the night before the intended combat with Norfolk at Coventry, and when, after his banishment, Henry seized the throne, Bagot's lands, at first forfeited, were speedily restored, and he was one of the first who received from that prince the Collar of SS.

This famous Collar of SS., the most celebrated knightly decoration, next to the Garter itself, is not only worn by the Bagots, both husband and wife, but by many others

throughout the period, and is at this time a distinctive badge of adherence to the House of Lancaster. It appears at Gunby, Little Casterton, and Little Horkesley, amongst the brasses just enumerated. The letter S was repeated in links of latten or silver or gold upon a fillet of blue, and fastened with a pendant or clasp, which varies in many instances, but is most often an ornamented trefoil attached to the collar by buckles. Its true origin is uncertain, although Boutell confidently asserts that it was introduced by Henry IV., and that the letter is the initial of the word "Souveraine," his motto when Earl of Derby, which, as he afterwards became sovereign, appeared auspicious. Unfortunately for this theory, the collar has been noticed as early as 1371, in the reign of Edward III. It is also found in an early manuscript at the British Museum around the arms of John of Gaunt, who was Steward of England, as well as Duke of Lancaster. The S may there stand for Seneschallus. At any rate, the collar was adopted by Henry IV., and granted by him to many of his adherents, and especially to such as were personally attached to the court.

The ladies in this section, like their husbands, wear much the same costume as before, the kirtle and mantle retaining the same form, and a hip-belt being often used in imitation apparently of the masculine bawdric. The sideless cote-hardi also maintains its position, and is well exemplified in the dress of Lady Bagot, whose mantle is lined with fur, as, later, in the figure of Lady Camoys. The headdresses vary, a common form being the jewelled net and side-pads for the hair, and a kerchief falling to the neck. Lady Bagot's hair is simply plaited, but this is unusual. In the other extreme, Lady Burton is adorned with jewelled bandeau and coronet.

Parallel with such brasses are those which exhibit a transition stage to the era of complete plate armour. At first the jupon is laid aside, and the warrior appears in a plain steel cuirass, usually ridged, with a skirt of five or six hoops, which are known as taces. These cover the mail shirt, which

dwindles away to a fringe of steel rings, and finally disappears altogether. The camail is covered by a gorget of plate, but at first shows also as a fringe, until it is abandoned and the gorget is riveted to the cuirass. The bascinet becomes less pointed, and at last almost globular.

Good transition examples appear at—

Lingfield, Surrey, 1403, Sir Reginald de Cobham.

Dartmouth, Devon, 1408, John Hauley and two wives, under triple canopy.

Otterden, Kent, 1408, Thos. Seintlegier, Esq.

Great Tew, Oxon., 1410, John Wylcotes and wife, under canopy.

Little Horkesley, Essex, 1412, Sir Thos. Swynborne, under triple canopy.

The Little Horkesley brass is remarkable. The father, Sir Robert, and the son, Sir Thomas, lie side by side, each under a splendid triple canopy, joined at its central shaft. The father, who died in 1391, is fully represented in the armour of his time, camail, jupon, etc. The son is in plate, with fringes of mail at the gorget and the lowermost tace, and a Collar of SS. clasped about his neck.

With the renewal of the French wars, plate became the only armour, though the tace-fringe is seen in a few early instances. Otherwise mail entirely disappears, except sometimes at the joint of the elbow, which is further protected by a fan-shaped coudière or a roundel, and roundels or oblong palettes are placed before the armpits.

A remarkably perfect example is figured from Thruxton, Hants., dated 1407, but almost certainly engraved later.

Other examples are numerous, and it is impossible to give more than a selection.

Routh, Yorks., *c.* 1410, Sir John Routh and wife, in Collars of SS.

Wixford, Warw., 1411, Thos. de Cruwe and wife.

Wantage, Berks., 1414, Sir Ivo Fitzwaryn.

Great Fransham, Norfolk, 1414, Geoff. Fransham, Esq., under canopy.



SIR JOHN LYSLE, ENGRAVED c. 1425
THRUXTON, HAMPSHIRE

Digswell, Herts., 1415, John Peryent, Esq., and wife, in Collars of SS.
 Kidderminster, Worcs., 1415, Sir John Phelip, Walter Cookesey, Esq., and wife, in Collars of SS., under triple canopy.
 Erpingham, Norfolk, *c.* 1415, Sir John de Erpingham.
 Barsham, Suffolk, *c.* 1415, Sir Robt. Suckling, in Collar of SS.
 Northleigh, Oxon., 1415, man in armour.
 Hinxton, Cambs., 1416, Sir Thos. de Skelton and two wives.
 Felbrigg, Norfolk, 1416, Sir Symon Felbrygge, K.G., and wife, under double canopy.
 Blakesley, Northants., 1416, Matth. Swetenham, Esq., in Collar of SS.
 Bocking, Essex, 1420, John Doreward, Esq., and wife.
 Burnham Thorpe, Norfolk, 1420, Sir Wm. Calthorpe, in Collar of SS., under canopy and super-canopy.
 Bobbing, Kent, *c.* 1420, Sir Arnold Savage and wife.
 Herne, Kent, *c.* 1420, Peter Halle, Esq., and wife.
 Thruxton, Hants., *c.* 1425, Sir John Lysle, under triple canopy.
 Aylesford, Kent, 1426, John Cosyngton, Esq., and wife.
 Battle, Sussex, 1426, John Lowe.
 Wiston, Sussex, 1426, Sir John de Brewys.
 Wellesbourne, Warw., 1426, Sir Thos. le Straunge, in Collar of SS.
 Yoxford, Suffolk, 1428, John Norwiche, Esq., and wife.
 Wimington, Beds., 1430, Sir Thos. Brounflet.
 South Petherton, Somerset, *c.* 1430, a Dawbeney and wife.
 Great Harrowden, Northants., 1433, Wm. Harwedon, Esq., and wife.
 Brabourn, Kent, 1434, Wm. Scot, Esq.
 Bromham, Beds., *c.* 1435, Thos. Wideville, Esq., and two wives, under triple canopy.
 Ewelme, Oxon., 1436, Thos. Chaucer, Esq., and wife.
 Westminster Abbey, 1437, Sir John Harpedon.

Many of these brasses are fine ones, and present minor peculiarities. Thus at Routh, in the East Riding, Sir John carries both sword and misericorde, and his brass is one of the very few on which the mode of fastening the latter is clearly shown; it is attached by a short cord passing through a loop fastened to the lowest tace. In this and in a few other brasses two small additional plates are suspended in front.

At Kidderminster the dexter husband wears a slightly

transverse but wide swordbelt, to which are attached a number of little bells, and on the belt are inscribed the initials I. P. for John Phelip, four times repeated in small square compartments. It also presents an illustration of the change from the bawdric worn low upon the hips to the later transverse narrower belt, which is used by the second husband.

The Wixford and Wiston brasses are remarkable for the additional ornaments inserted in the vacant spaces upon their grave slabs. In the case of Thos. de Cruwe, the slab is powdered with repetitions of his badge, a foot, which naturally has a somewhat awkward and curious appearance. With Sir John de Brewys there are thirty-one small scrolls, inscribed with the words "Jesus Mercy," a much more pleasing adornment.

Sir Symon de Felbrygge, who was Standard-bearer to Richard II. as well as a Knight of the Garter, is represented with the royal standard in his right hand, charged with the reputed arms of Edward the Confessor impaling France and England quarterly. These arms, *Azure, a cross patonce between 5 martlets or*, were assumed by Richard II. in the latter part of his reign, apparently because the Confessor was one of his patron saints, and were granted by him to a few of his favourites or relations. In a shield above the double canopy, on the knight's side, the same arms are repeated, as they are on the opposite side also, but impaling quarterly the arms of the empire, *a spread eagle with 2 heads crowned*, and the kingdom of Bohemia, *a lion rampant queue fourchée* (cf. p. 61), being the arms of Anne, Richard's queen. Sir Symon was a very distinguished knight. In the first year of Henry V. he received the robes of the Order of the Garter, and in the register of the Order is styled "ordinis maxime senex." He furnished twelve men-at-arms and thirty-six foot archers, and possibly served, in the expedition of 1415 and at Agincourt. He died in 1443, but probably prepared his brass in 1416, his first wife Margaret, a grand-niece of Wenceslas V., King of

Bohemia, and a maid of honour to her kinswoman, Queen Anne, being already dead in 1413. He wears the Garter round his left leg, and the palettes at his armpits are charged with a plain cross of St. George.

Only four other brasses remain of knights belonging to this illustrious Order, of whom Sir Peter Courtenay, 1409, much defaced, at Exeter Cathedral, and Lord Camoys, 1419, at Trotton (cf. illustration, p. 145), have been already mentioned. They wear the Garter simply. In the next period comes Henry Bouchier, first Earl of Essex, Lord Treasurer of England, 1483, at Little Easton, Essex, a fine and originally coloured figure upon an altar-tomb, wearing the mantle as well as the Garter; and later still, Sir Thomas Bullen, 1538, at Hever, Kent, attired in the full insignia. He is figured without his inscription, which is a small plate reversed, and set a few inches apart from the rest of the brass. He was "Knight of the Order of the Garter, Erle of Wilscher, and Erle of Ormunde." There is also at Holy Trinity Church, Chester, a palimpsest inscription to Henry Gee, 1545, which has been cut out of a large brass, *c.* 1520-1530, of yet another knight of the Order. The fragment shows only the left leg from the top of the knee to the instep, but this is sufficient to exhibit the Garter, which is uninscribed, and some folds of the mantle, together with part of a long tasselled cord with which the garment was fastened.

Certain further changes in plate armour are found as the Lancastrian period draws to its close, and as the long continuance of the French wars may have suggested them. They may be gathered into two subsections, but it will be understood that all these variations overlap one another, and that one or another piece of armour may be added or omitted in particular instances. In the first place, additional plates of steel are fixed to the cuirass, called placates and demi-placates. The placates are of irregular size and shape, and protect the armpits and part of the shoulders, displacing the



SIR THOMAS BULLEN, K.G., 1538
HEVER, KENT

older palettes and roundels. Demi-placates give greater strength to the lower portion of the cuirass, and are fixed with their edges upwards. The left side and bridle arm also begin to be more fully protected than the other, which was required to be free in action. The small plates of the épaulières, called splints, now sometimes almost meet across the chest. The gauntlets have longer and more pointed cuffs, and are not always divided into fingers. Another more marked characteristic appears in the use of tuilles, or pointed plates, generally two in number, which were strapped or hinged to the lowest tace.

Examples of some or all of these changes occur at—

Hampton Poyle, Oxon., 1424, John Poyle, Esq., and wife.
 Sawbridgeworth, Herts., 1433, Sir John Leventhorp and wife.
 Hereford Cathedral, 1435, Sir Rich. Delamere and wife, under canopy.
 Cirencester, Glos., 1438, Rich. Dixon, Esq.
 Albury, Surrey, 1440, John Weston, Esq.
 Arkesden, Essex, *c.* 1440, man in arm.
 Ilminster, Somerset, *c.* 1440, Sir Wm. Wadham and wife, under doubly-triple canopy and super-canopy.
 Lanteglos-by-Fowey, Cornwall, *c.* 1440, Sir Thos. de Mohun.
 Chalgrove, Oxon., 1441, Reg. Barantyn, Esq.
 Harpham, Yorks., 1445, Thos. de St. Quintin, Esq.
 Newland, Glos., *c.* 1445, Sir Christopher Baynham and wife.

The Newland knight is provided with a very curious crest, consisting of a miner with a candle in his mouth, a bag at his back, and a pickaxe in his hand. Unfortunately this brass is a good deal mutilated.

In the last subsection the helmet is discarded, though usually not the gauntlets, and the head appears with close-cropped hair. Pauldrons are worn upon the shoulders, but they are quite plain, and of equal size, as are also the coudières. The skirt of taces is without tuilles, but is abnormally long, consisting of ten or eight hoops, which themselves are frequently divided into a great number of small oblong plates.

Examples, in one respect or another, are found at—

Etchingham, Sussex, 1444, Sir Wm. Etchingham, wife and son, under triple canopy.

South Mimms, Middlesex, 1448, Thos. Frowyk, Esq., and wife.

Crowhurst, Surrey, 1450, John Gaynesford, Esq.

Hayes, Middlesex, *c.* 1450, Walter Grene, Esq.

Isleworth, Middlesex, *c.* 1450, man in arm.

Marston Morteyne, Beds., 1451, Thos. Reynes, Esq., and wife.

The ladies do not present such a variety of costume as appear in the armour of their husbands. In a few of the finest brasses, early in the period, the mantle is omitted, and they wear a high-wasted gown with a figured band, very long surplice-like sleeves, which almost sweep the ground, and turn-down collars; the hair is gathered into nets, with a kerchief disposed upon the top. All this may be seen at Routh, *c.* 1410, Kidderminster, 1415, Digswell, 1415, East Markham, Nottinghamshire, 1419, Horley, Surrey, *c.* 1420, and a few other places. Lady Routh, like her husband, wears a Collar of SS., but it is all covered by the broad fur collar of her gown, except the clasp and pendant. Lady Peryent at Digswell also has the Collar of SS., but higher up upon the neck and exposed to view. Her dress collars are double, and on the left side of the lower a small badge is embroidered, representing a swan. There is a hedgehog at her feet. Her hair-net is very curious, and drawn into the form of an inverted triangle, rising to some height above the head, with her kerchief upon it. Nearly the same form is found, though with a bandeau and more elaborate netting, in the headdress of Lady Phelip at Kidderminster, the long sleeve of whose dress and the lower collar are lined or faced with fur.

The usual dress of the ladies from about 1420 to the end of the period consists of the plain kirtle and mantle, occasionally the sideless cote-hardi, as at Trotton, and an arrangement of the hair known as the horned or mitred headdress. The side-nets, often elaborately plaited and jewelled, are

raised above the head in the form indicated, and a kerchief falls upon the forehead, and to the neck and shoulders behind. Most of the ladies already enumerated with their husbands are thus attired. Good examples of ladies alone are found at Broughton, Oxon., 1414; Hever, Kent, 1419; East Anthony, Cornwall, 1420; Lingfield, Surrey, 1420; Cobham, Kent, 1433, and elsewhere, the majority being small, and not of first-rate interest.

Civilian brasses are found in increasing numbers throughout the period, and are often of considerable importance. The memorial of Richard Martyn and his wife at Dartford, Kent, 1402, may be taken as a typical and fine example of those of the reign of Henry IV. He wears a gown reaching to his ankles, with a small opening towards the bottom, and loose sleeves gathered in at the wrists and showing the tight sleeves of an under-tunic. A long mantle is partly looped over his left arm, and buttoned on the right shoulder, and a hood is placed loosely round the neck. His wife has no mantle, but a gown with wide sleeves, waistband, and a collar turned up round the neck, while a veil covers her head and falls on either side upon the breast. The fine canopy and the marginal inscription are unusual features in civilian brasses.

Later in the century the mantle may generally be taken to indicate some office of distinction which was held by the wearer. Thus, at St. Giles', Norwich, a mantle similarly buttoned on the right shoulder, and a hood, are worn by Richard Baxter, 1432, who was mayor of the city and a burgess in Parliament. Where civilians do not wear the mantle, a belt is seen at the waist, from which an anelace frequently hangs. Except that the mantle and hood are seldom seen, and that the gown is worn shorter, reaching only to a little below the knees, a like costume continues to be worn with scarcely any change. The hair is usually cropped close, and there is no beard. By way of exception, Nicholas Canteys, 1431, at St. John's, Margate, has a long



RICHARD MARTYN AND HIS WIFE, 1402
DARTFORD, KENT

full beard, though he is otherwise close-cropped. His brass is of further interest also because it shows his shoes to be laced up at the sides, from the instep to the ankle, and embroidered with stars. Shoes at this period are invariably low and pointed, without heels, and, indeed, have the appearance of slippers of cloth or soft leather.

Although knights and squires almost always wear armour, there are a few instances in which they appear in civil dress. One of the best is in the brass of Sir Thomas and Lady Brook, 1437, at Thorncombe, Devon. Sir Thomas has the usual belted gown, though it is apparently lined and edged with fur, and a Collar of SS. about his neck. His lady wears kirtle and mantle, horned headdress, and the same collar. A dog lies at the knight's feet, and it is a remarkable fact that its collar is buckled and clasped in exactly the same way, though there are no SS. These dogs at the feet are occasionally intended to represent actual favourites. Thus, at Deerhurst, in Gloucestershire, 1400 (illustrated on p. 174), Lady Cassy has a dog, in a collar of bells, with its name "Terri" attached; and there was once a "Jakke" with Sir Bryan de Stapleton, at Ingham, Norfolk, 1438, figured by Cotman, but unhappily destroyed in the year 1800. At that date the chancel "was completely swept of all its beautiful memorials of the Stapleton family. They were sold as old metal, and it was commonly reported by whom they were sold and bought; but nobody sought to recover them: neither minister nor churchwarden cared for any of these things." Jakke had a sharp nose, a Pomeranian ruff, and a smooth body, and was evidently a portrait. He was made to bear company with a very ordinary and conventional lion.

The general interest, however, in civilian brasses lies largely in the witness which is borne by them to the continued rise of the middle classes in wealth and prosperity, in spite of the drain upon the resources of the country, which must have been caused by the French wars. In describing the great foreign

mercantile brasses at King's Lynn and Newark, mention has been made of the connection between the east coast, the Hanseatic League, and the Baltic trade, and also between London, Kent, and the merchants of Bruges and the lower Rhine. In the fifteenth century the chief interest changes to the woolmen, who then became the most important and wealthiest of the English traders. To these men there are many important brasses, which will be separately dealt with in an appendix to the present chapter. Other trades are not without their representative brasses. At Cirencester, Gloucestershire, are fine but much mutilated figures of a vintner, or wine merchant, and his wife, *c.* 1400, with wine-casks beneath their feet. In like manner Simon Seman, vintner and alderman of London, 1433, in his fine brass at Barton-upon-Humber, stands upon two wine-casks. John Asger, Mayor of Norwich, at St. Laurence, Norwich, 1436, was a merchant of Bruges; Richard Bailly, Woodstock, Oxon., 1441, was a citizen and haberdasher of London; John Stokes, at Chipping Norton, in the same county, *c.* 1450, a mercer. At Fletching, Sussex, *c.* 1450, a pair of gloves and an inscription are the simple memorial of Peter Denot, glover.

Other civilian brasses of more or less interest are found in nearly every county of England, and a few of them are enumerated below—

Eaton Socon, Beds., *c.* 1400, John Covesgrave and wife.
 Tilbrook, Beds., *c.* 1400, civilian and wife.
 Ore, Sussex, *c.* 1400, civilian and wife.
 Holme-next-the-Sea, Norfolk, *c.* 1405, Henry Notingham and wife.
 Owston, Yorks., 1409, Robt. de Haitfield and wife.
 Chinnor, Oxon., *c.* 1410, Nich. Atte Heel.
 Tattershall, Lincs., 1411, Hugo de Gondeby.
 St. John Maddermarket, Norwich, 1412, Walter Moneslee and wife.
 Sudborough, Northants., 1415, Wm. West and wife.
 Pakefield, Suffolk, 1417, John Bowf and wife.
 Lutterworth, Leics., 1418, John Fildyng and wife.

Crowan, Cornwall, *c.* 1420, Geoff. St. Aubyn.

Lydd, Kent, 1429, John Thomas.

Amersham, Bucks., 1430, Henry Brudenell and wife.

Beddington, Surrey, 1432, Nich. Carrew and wife.

Kelshall, Herts., 1435, Rich. Adane and wife.

Erith, Kent, 1435, John Ailemer and wife.

Kingston-on-Thames, Surrey, 1437, Robt. Skern and wife.

Amersham, Bucks., 1439, Thos. Carbonell and wife.

St. Bartholomew-the-Less, London, 1439, Wm. Markeby and wife.

Swainswick, Somerset, 1439, Edm. Forde and wife.

Sall, Norfolk, 1440, Geoff. Boleyn and wife.

St. John's, Margate, Kent, 1441, John Parker and wife.

Chalfont St. Peter, Bucks., 1446, Wm. Whapplelode and wife.

Cheshunt, Herts., 1449, Wm. Pyke and wife.

Pulborough, Sussex, 1452, Edm. Mille and wife.

Trade heraldry, in the shape of coats-of-arms granted to the merchant adventurers, the mercers, and other companies does not yet appear upon brasses. Nevertheless, particular traders are distinguished by the bearing of "merchants' marks," which are found engraved upon shields, or introduced into canopies and other parts of the composition. Such devices doubtless originated with the necessity for distinguishing one merchant's goods from another's, but they quickly rose into ever greater prestige, till we find the merchant hardly less proud of his mark than was the knight of his armorial bearings. This tendency was fostered by the undoubted fact that these devices, like heraldic arms, were hereditary, and remained long in the same family. The earliest specimens are simple in form, and, as some suppose, quasi-religious, several being like the cross and pennon borne by the Agnus Dei. Many, again, are thought to present a rough likeness to a ship's mast with yardarms and pennons, a device not inappropriate to merchants engaged in over-sea trade. Examples of this period occur at Chipping Campden, Gloucestershire, 1401; Barstaple Almshouse Chapel, Bristol, 1411; St. Laurence, Norwich, 1425 and 1436; Cirencester,

Gloucestershire, 1440 and 1442; Dunstable, Bedfordshire, 1450; and Holy Trinity, Hull, 1451.

They afterwards become much more common, and are often combined with initials or monograms. A good specimen may be seen repeated six times in the marginal inscription of the Northleach brass illustrated on p. 169, with the initials "i f," for John Fortey. For a later and very excellent example, see the Flemish brass of Thos. Pownder, of Ipswich, p. 96, with the mark upon a shield between the heads of the principal figures.

The prevalent language of the inscriptions at this time was Latin, though French was still occasionally used at the beginning of the century. An interesting example remains in the border fillet of the brass of Sir Wm. Fienlez, at Hurst-monceaux, Sussex, which includes a grant of indulgence to those who shall say a paternoster and an ave for the knight's soul—

"William ffienlez Chiualer qy morust le xviii jour de Janeuer lan del Incarnion urē Jhēu Cryst Milt cccc 2 gist ycy qy pur sa alme deuostement pater noster & ave priera vi^{xx} jours de pardon enauera."

A shorter form—there could hardly be less—is given under the figure of a man in plate armour at Cople, Bedfordshire, c. 1415—

"Walter Rolond gist icy dieu de sa alme eit mercy Amen."

Other instances occur at Hemel Hempstead, Herts., c. 1400; Shottesbrooke, Berks., 1401; Cobham, Kent, 1402; Owston, Yorks., 1409; and Stokenchurch, Oxon., 1410 and 1412. Still later are brasses at Warkworth, Northants., to several members of the Chetwode family, in two of which, to John Chetwode, 1420, and to Amabilla, wife of Sir John Chetwode and afterwards of Sir Thomas Straunge, the French is mixed with Latin. In the first of these there are two lines

of French and one of Latin, the Latin very much abbreviated, thus—

“ Ici gist Johñ Chetewode le filz de s John Chetewode Ch'r
qui morist le x iour | de Junn l'an de grace MCCCC XX
de quy alme tout puissant dieu eit m'ci Amen. |
Sic na' du' vixit d'no p'cib b'n' dixit p'r de celis deus misere
nobis.”

A still later French inscription at All Saints, Hertford, 1435, records the death of “Maistre Jehn Hunger,” chief cook to Queen Catherine the wife of Henry V.

The Latin inscriptions usually begin with “Orate pro anima,” or “Hic jacet,” and end with “cujus animæ propicietur deus,” which is variously contracted and hardly ever given in full. Not much information is usually given beyond the name, rank, and date of death, though there are a good many instances to the contrary. One interesting rhymed inscription at Kidderminster, 1415, is here given as a case in point. It is written in four lines only, at the foot of the figures of Lady Phelip and her two husbands, a brass already described (cf. p. 152)—

“ Miles honorificus :
Johñ Phelip subiacet intus :
Henricus quintus :
dilexerat hunc Ut amicus ~
Consepelitur ei :
sua sponsa Matildis amata :
Waltero Cookesey :
prius Armigero sociata ~
Audax & fortis :
apud Harffleu Johñ bene gessit :
Et Baro Vim Mortis :
paciens Migrare recessit ~
M.C. quater X. V :
Octobris luce secunda ~
Sit finis alme Jesu :
tibi spiritus hostia Munda ~”

But it is the English inscriptions which are, perhaps, the most interesting, for the few that occur are the earliest in our own language, except the two instances quoted on p. 39.

Seeing that the age of Chaucer and of Wycliffe was already past, and that of Caxton close at hand, it is surprising that they should be as crude and as rare as they are. A very few examples must suffice.

The first is from Holme-next-the-Sea, near Hunstanton, Norfolk, *c.* 1405, upon the brass of Henry Notingham and his wife, who are stated to have built the chancel and tower of the church, and to have given to it a ring of bells and two sets of vestments. Doubtless the brass once occupied a founder's tomb in the aforesaid chancel, but this has long since been destroyed, and the brass, for many years nailed to a board, is now set in the wall of the nave. There are two small figures, each about 18 inches high, the husband in a long civilian's gown with belt and anelace, and an elaborately clasped collar about his neck, and the wife in a close gown fastened by a wide belt, and buttoned from throat to waist. The inscription is in six lines:—

“ Herry Notingham & hys wyffe lyne here
yat madeñ this chirche stepull & quere
two vestments & belles they made also
crist hem saue therfore ffro wo
ande to bringe her saules to blis at heuen
sayth pater & aue with mylde steuen.”

A brass at Higham Ferrers, Northants., 1425, to Wm. Chichele and his wife Beatrice, is a particularly fine one. Chichele, alderman and sheriff of London, was a brother of Henry, Archbishop of Canterbury, and was a munificent patron of the church and appendent college and almshouses. Between the pediments of the double canopy are two roundels bearing the words “ihu” and “mcy,” and there is an elaborate marginal English inscription in twelve verses. Parts of these are lost, but are here supplied from Hudson's *Brasses of Northamptonshire*—

"Such as ye be such wer we
 Such as we bee such shall ye be
 Lerneth to deye that is the lawe
 That this lif now to wol drawe
 Sorwe or gladnesse nought letten age
 But on he cometh to lord and page
 Wherefor for us that ben goo
 Preyeth as other shall for you doo
 That God of his benignyte
 On us have mercy and pite
 And nought remember our wykkednesse
 Sith he us bought of hys goodnesse. Amē."

John Todenham, *c.* 1430, St. John Maddermarket, Norwich, with a small civilian figure about 17 inches in height, has a two-line inscription, "God haue m̄cy on the soule of John Todenham | and Johne his wyff for here lyeth he buried." From his hands a large scroll rises and curves over his head, "God yat sittyth in Trinite : on ye soule of John Todenham haue mcy & pite." This is a very early instance of an English invocation.

Other English inscriptions are found at Frettenham, Norfolk, *c.* 1420; Arreton, Isle of Wight, *c.* 1430; Kelshall, Herts., 1435; Burford, Oxon., 1437; Morley, Derbyshire, *c.* 1450; Buxted, Sussex, *c.* 1450; but there are few others until the end of the century.

APPENDIX (1)

THE WOOL-STAPLERS

Two districts in England were early distinguished for their importance in the wool trade, and their connection with the staple, or market, of Calais, the most influential trade guild of the fifteenth century. These districts were in Gloucestershire and Lincolnshire, and they still contain a series of brasses in memory of members of the guild of sufficient importance to deserve separate treatment. The staple had

been incorporated by Edward III. after the capture of Calais, and was closely regulated by statute. Attempting to carry the merchandise of the staple to other than the appointed ports was strictly forbidden, and it was even made felony for any but the authorized merchants to deal in the staple goods. The corporation had its own laws, was exempt from the jurisdiction of the ordinary magistrates, and had its own officers, the chief of the latter taking the title of mayor.

Brasses to the Gloucestershire woolmen are found at Northleach, Chipping Campden, Cirencester, and Lechlade, with Chipping Norton, Witney, and Thame in the neighbouring county of Oxon. The Lincolnshire brasses centre round Stamford, with Lynwode, Algarkirk, and Winthorpe, together with Sawley in Derbs. and Mattishall in Norfolk. A third district is found in Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire, with brasses at St. Albans, Standon, Hitchin, Dunstable, Ampthill, Wimington, and also Chicheley in Bucks. London brasses to the wool-staplers are found at All Hallows Barking; St. Andrew Under-shaft; and Ealing, with Easton Neston in Northamptonshire, the last to a merchant who had married the daughter of a lord mayor of London. The following list is not perhaps complete, but is as nearly so as possible:—

- Wimington, Beds., 1391, John Curteys and wife, under double canopy.
 Northleach, Glos., *c.* 1400, a woolman and wife.
 Chipping Campden, Glos., 1401, Wm. Grevel and wife, under double canopy.
 St. Albans Abbey, 1411, Thos. Fayreman and wife.
 Lynwode, Lincs., 1419, John Lyndewode and wife, under double canopy.
 Lynwode, Lincs., 1421, John Lyndewode the Younger, under canopy.
 All Hallows Barking, London, 1437, John Bacon and wife.
 Cirencester, Glos., 1440, Robt. Page and wife, under double canopy.
 Northleach, Glos., 1447, Thos. Fortey, wife and second husband, under triple canopy.
 Ampthill, Beds., 1450, John Hicchecok.
 Dunstable, Beds., 1450, Laurence Pygott and wife.
 Lechlade, Glos., *c.* 1450, a woolman and wife.
 Chipping Norton, Oxon., 1451, John Yonge and wife.
 Hitchin, Herts., 1452, a merchant of the staple and wife.
 Northleach, Glos., 1458, John Fortey, under canopy.
 All Saints, Stamford, Lincs., *c.* 1460, John Browne and wife.
 Standon, Herts., 1477, John Feld.
 Northleach, Glos., *c.* 1485, a woolman and wife.

All Saints, Stamford, 1489, Wm. Browne and wife, under canopy.
 All Hallows Barking, 1489, Thos. Gilbert and wife.
 Northleach, Glos., *c.* 1490, John Taylour and wife.
 Ealing, Middlesex, *c.* 1490, Rich. Amondesham and wife.
 Algarkirk, Lincs., 1498, Nich. Robertson and two wives.
 Witney, Oxon., 1500, Rich. Wenman and two wives.
 Thame, Oxon., 1502, Geoff. Dormer and two wives.
 Winthorpe, Lincs., 1505, Rich. Barowe and wife.
 Mattishall, Norfolk, 1507, Robt. Foster and wife.
 Sawley, Derbs., 1510, Rich. Shylton and wife.
 All Hallows Barking, 1518, Christopher Rawson and two wives.
 St. Albans Abbey, Herts., 1519, Rauf Rowlatt.
 Northleach, Glos., 1526, Thos. Bushe and wife, under double canopy.
 St. Andrew Undershaft, London, 1539, Nich. Leveson and wife.
 Easton Neston, Northants., 1552, Rich. Fermer, Esq., and wife.
 Chicheley, Bucks., 1558, Anth. Cave, Esq., and wife.

Of these the Gloucestershire brasses easily take first rank. That to William Grevel and Marion his wife in Chipping Campden Church has been rightly described by Boutell as a "truly noble brass, a fitting memorial for the munificent rebuilder of the church within the walls of which he now lies buried." The figures are surmounted by a fine double canopy with side and central shafts, and an architectural base, and the marginal inscription describes Grevel as having been "*Flos mercatorum lanarum totius Angliæ*," *i.e.* "The flower of the wool merchants of the whole realm of England." His gown has a rich belt with an anelace, and he wears the mantle buttoned upon his shoulder, and a hood. In the spandrels of the two pediments of the canopy there are foiled circles containing his merchant's mark, and his coat-of-arms appears upon shields above.

The Cirencester brass is also canopied, and the lost inscription stated that Page employed his wealth in repairing churches and roads.

But it is the long series of brasses at Northleach which surpass all others in interest. In the first the unknown merchant, dressed like Grevel, lies with his feet upon a woolpack. Thos. Fortey, like Page, repaired churches and roads, and lies beneath a canopy. The wife's second husband was a tailor, one William Scors. John Fortey made the roof of the church, and is appropriately under a canopy (*cf.* illustration), with his merchant's mark and initials placed six times in the marginal inscription. His right foot rests upon a sheep, his left upon a woolpack. The same arrangement is found in the next

brass, where there is a merchant's mark upon the pack, and also in that of Thos. Bushe. John Taylour has a sheep standing on the woolpack, a shepherd's crook lying in front, and two crooks crossed at right angles on the pack for mark. Bushe's sheep is standing, and, unlike the others, possesses long curling horns. This is altogether a curious and also handsome brass. Three similar sheep are engraved in the spandrel of the canopy, resting under a spreading bush, while above it a shield is suspended from a large hook, and bears the arms of the staple of Calais, which were *Barry nebulée of 6, argent and azure, on a chief gules a lion passant gardant or*. These arms appear also in the woolmen's brasses at Witney and Thame, Standon, and at St. Olave, Hart Street, which is illustrated. It contains a slight error, in that the lion is not gardant; but such



ARMS OF THE STAPLE OF CALAIS, 1516
ST. OLAVE'S, HART STREET, LONDON

mistakes were often made. There was also a crest, which is not illustrated, viz. *On a wreath a ram argent armed and unguled or*. Supporters, *Two rams tinctured as before*. The motto was, "God be our Friend."

In Lincolnshire, at Lynwode, both brasses, to father and son, are very fine ones, with double and single canopies, the first adding an embattled entablature and seven canopied children in cross-hatched niches along the base. The feet in each case rest upon a wool-pack, the son's bearing also a merchant's mark.

At Stamford the staple of Calais was of great importance, and is the origin of the curious local name of "Callises," for almshouses, these having been freely built for members of the staple. John Browne, like other woolmen, rests his feet against two packs. But the later Wm. Browne, 1489, is the more interesting personage, a "marchant of very wonderful richenesse," as he is described by Leland. Besides carrying out the restoration of All Saints' Church, begun by his father, and building the fine late Perpendicular steeple at the west end of the new north aisle. he founded in 1485 the noble hospital which bears his name, for a warden and confrater, ten poor brethren, and two nurses. He was alderman (*i.e.* mayor) of the borough six times, and thrice sheriff of Rutland. The brass is fine, but mutilated, the canopy over the husband's head being lost, while the wife's remains; it bears on the pediment a stork upon a nest in a circle, being a rebus for her maiden name, which was Stokke. Over the head of Wm. Browne is a short scroll, bearing the motto "+ me spede," and another is over the wife, "Der lady help at nede." The figures measure about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and are well engraved. Browne has a mantle fastened by a single button on his right shoulder, and his feet rest on two woolpacks. The inscription consists of six Latin hexameters under each figure, and the two halves are divided from one another by a quaint device of two woolpacks, on each of which stands a stork or other bird, with the motto "+ me spede" above its head.

The other brasses are for the most part smaller, and of altogether less interest, calling for little comment. That at Wymington, in Bedfordshire, stands first of all in order of date, and is, moreover, in itself a fine memorial with a good double canopy, upon an altar tomb, and in good preservation. Curteys was Mayor of the Staple, and is thus described in the marginal inscription: "Johēs Curteys dñs de Wymyntoñ quondam maior staple lanarū Calesii & Albreda ux' ei' qui istam eccliam de novo construxerūt." But there are no symbols of trade or office.

John Bacon, at All Hallows Barking, by the Tower of London, was citizen and woolman, and rests his feet upon the pack. The others in this church, though members of the staple of Calais, are described as draper and mercer respectively. The London staplers at Ealing and St. Andrew Undershaft, were also mercers. The last two merchants of the staple, at Easton Neston and Chicheley, both rank as esquires, and appear in armour.



WILLIAM BROWNE, WOOLMAN, AND HIS WIFE MARGARET, ENGRAVED c. 1460
ALL SAINTS, STAMFORD, LINCOLNSHIRE

No account has yet been taken of inscriptions in which wool merchants are mentioned, but where there is no effigy. A few are known. At Newark, Notts., Robt. Whitecounge, 1447, was a Merchant of Calais, and his mark is given. Again at Erith, Kent, Emma Wode, 1471, was the daughter of John Walden, Mayor of the Staple of Calais. At Farringdon, Berks., Petronilla Parker, 1471, was the wife of another merchant of the staple. John Reed, at Wrangle, Lincs., 1504, has a large slab, from which a shield of arms and a merchant's mark are lost, and a marginal inscription beginning, "Here liethe y^e bodies of John Reed sūtyme marchant of y^e Stapyll of Calys & Margaret his wyfe."

APPENDIX (2)

THE LEGAL PROFESSION

BEGINNING with several fine examples in the Lancastrian period, there yet remain an interesting series of brasses in memory of judges and other members of the legal profession, which present admirable illustrations of the judicial costume. These men differ in detail, but in general wear a close cap or coif, a plain gown reaching to the ankles and with close sleeves, a fur tippet, a mantle lined with minever, and buttoned upon the right shoulder, and a hood.

The earliest are these :—

Deerhurst, Glos., 1400, Sir John Cassy and wife.
 Watford, Herts., 1415, Sir Hugh de Holes (mutilated).
 Gunby, Lincs., 1419, Wm. de Lodyngton.
 Wath, Yorks., 1420, Rich. Norton and wife (much worn).
 Eyke, Suffolk, *c.* 1430, John Staverton (mutilated).
 Graveney, Kent, 1436, John Martyn and wife.
 St. Mary Redcliff, Bristol, 1439, Sir John Juyn.
 Brightwell Baldwin, Oxon., 1439, John Cottusmore.

Sir John Cassy was chief baron of the Exchequer, and his brass is especially good. The minever lining of his mantle is very clearly expressed, and his coif is of two pieces, laced or braided together over the head. The tippet is not visible. He and his lady, the



SIR JOHN CASSY AND HIS WIFE ALICE, 1400
DEERHURST, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

(Small figure of St. John the Baptist, inserted from a rubbing in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries)

mistress of the dog Terri (cf. p. 160), lie beneath a fine and still perfect double canopy, with roses in the pediments. Figures of St. Anne and the Blessed Virgin stand upon small detached brackets, and another of St. John the Baptist is lost. It is, however, restored in the accompanying illustration, from a rubbing in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries, by the Rev. W. E. Scott-Hall. The border inscription, like some others in Gloucestershire, is in raised letters, with each word divided from the rest by curiously wrought flowers and leaves, and one amazing little dragon.

John Staverton, if the brass is indeed his, as Cotman supposes, was also a baron of the Exchequer, in gown, fur-lined mantle, and hood ; but his brass is mutilated, and the inscription lost.

The others were justices or chief justices of the King's Bench or of the Court of Common Pleas. Thus, Wm. de Lodyngton, at Gunby St. Peter's, is described in his inscription as "*Unus Justiciarior' illustrissimi dñi Regis Henrici quinti de cōi Banco.*" *Cōi* stands for *communi*, and the meaning is therefore "One of King Henry the Fifth's justices of the Common Pleas." He is an imposing figure, resting with the feet upon a leopard, under a particularly elegant single canopy, ornamented with trefoils and roses, and two inscriptions below, the second being the usual obit, and the first a pair of verses—

"Loudyngton̄ William stricto : tumulo requiescens
Justus erat quoniam sit celestis : dape vescens."

He wears a belt and anelace, and the furred edge of his tippet can be seen under the mantle. His hood is of fur, and also apparently his coif, which entirely covers the ears as well as the hair. The material of the coif was, however, white silk or lawn.

The Graveney brass is also a very rich one, and Judge Martyn is similarly described as "*Unus Jus[ticiarorum] dñi Regis de coi Banco.*" His fur-lined mantle more completely covers the person, and in his hands he carries a heart, cut away for enamel or colouring and inscribed with the words, "*Jhū m'cy.*" Again the coif is cut away for the insertion of white enamelling. The lady wears kirtle, mantle, and horned headdress, and the two lie under a graceful double canopy.

Sir John Juyn was Recorder of Bristol and baron of the Exchequer, as well as Chief Justice in the King's Bench. His

brass has no canopy, but presents a very perfect example of the judicial robes, with an inscription in separate words of raised letters around the margin, and a foot inscription in eight Latin verses, in which his various offices are given at full length.

At Brightwell Baldwin Chief Justice Cottusmore and his wife have large figures under a fine canopy upon the church floor, and a second brass upon the wall, in which they appear again, kneeling, and very small, with a long inscription in twenty-six Latin hexameters.

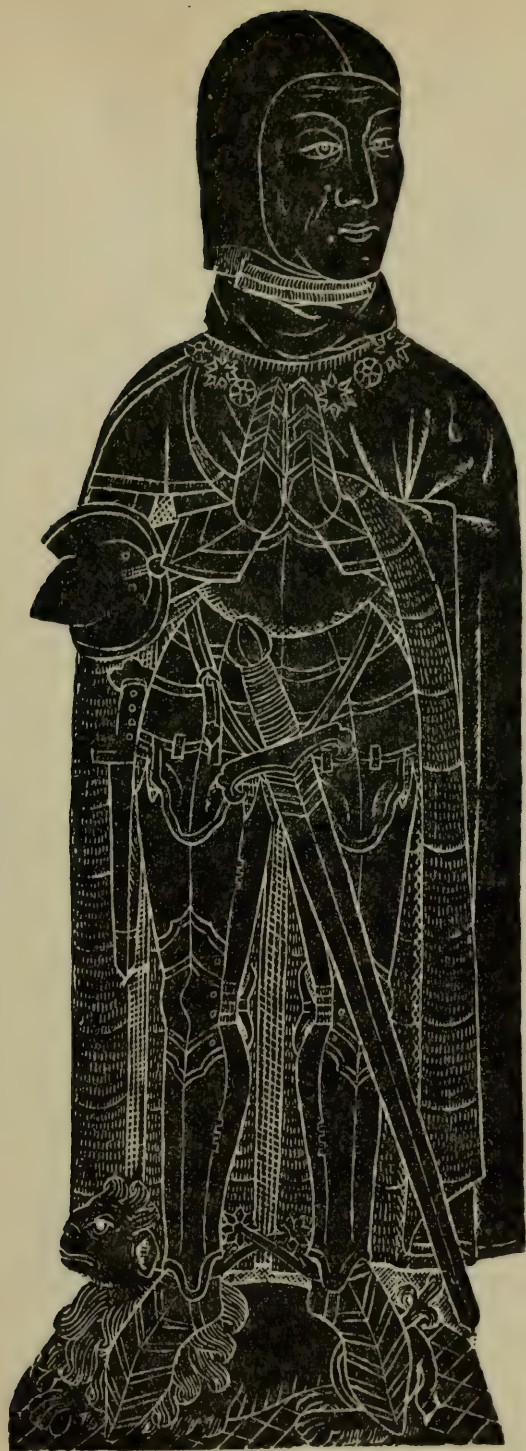
The judicial brasses of the latter part of the century are smaller and less imposing and without canopies, but include several interesting examples.

Callington, Cornwall, *c.* 1465, Nich. Assheton and wife.
 Latton, Essex, 1467, Sir Peter Arderne and wife.
 Rougham, Norfolk, *c.* 1470, Sir Wm. Yelverton and wife.
 Bray, Berks., 1475, Sir Wm. Laken.
 Middleton, Warw., 1476, Sir Rich. Byngham and wife.
 Dagenham, Essex, 1479, Sir Thos. Urswyk and wife.
 Wappenham, Northants., 1481, Sir Thos. Billyng and wife.
 Cowthorpe, Yorks., 1494, Brian Rouclyff.

The Callington brass is good, though its marginal inscription is slightly mutilated, "the Wych Nycholas Was one of the Kynges Juges and Secundarie of the Com . . ." Sir Peter Arderne was a chief baron of the Exchequer and judge of the Common Pleas. At Rougham we have a very small and curious brass, the work of local engravers. Sir William, a justice of the King's Bench, is in complete armour, with a great sword buckled in front of his body. The judicial tippet, mantle, and hood are, however, worn over the armour, a standing collar of mail appearing above the hood. His large coif gives him a somewhat ridiculous appearance, and he has a Collar of Suns and Roses thrown over the mantle. His head is half turned towards his wife, who is in kirtle, mantle, and butterfly headdress.

Sir Wm. Laken, a justice of the King's Bench, is in the usual dress, but with the addition of an anelace and a rosary. The figure of his wife has been lost, and also his inscription.

The brass at Middleton is another example of local work, though the Warwickshire engravers belonged to a distinct school from that of Norfolk. Byngham was "Miles & Justiciari' de banko dñi regis." His under-gown is lined and edged with fur, but



SIR WILLIAM YELVERTON, *c.* 1470.
ROUGHAM, NORFOLK

his mantle is plain. The drawing of the whole brass is very poor, and the height of the figure about 3 feet. The small Dagenham brass is more pleasing. Sir Thos. Urswyk, who was chief baron of the Exchequer and Recorder of London, wears the fur-lined mantle, but is bare-headed, and has no hood. The brass of Judge Billyng was brought to Wappenham from Bitlesden Abbey, but is now grievously mutilated. The lower part of both principal effigies is gone, as well as most of the children, and many of the small scrolls, inscribed, "Jhū mercy Lady helppe," which, to the number of sixteen, were powdered all over the slab. Sir Thos. Billyng was a chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas.

Another sad example of gross carelessness and destruction in modern times appears in the brass of Brian Rouclyff, at Cowthorpe, in the West Riding. In its original condition it consisted of the figures of husband and wife holding the model of a church between them—Rouclyff being the founder of Cowthorpe church—and standing under a double canopy enriched with heraldic devices; between the feet of the figures there stood a small bier, as a subsidiary memorial to John Burgh, uncle and benefactor to Brian, and below this an English inscription in eight lines in double columns, a marginal inscription enclosing the whole. It was probably the finest brass of its time. In 1841 it was described by Waller, who afterwards produced an admirable plate of it in his *Series of Monumental Brasses*, as being in a most disgraceful state of neglect, and with a large stove set upon the figures. A few years later more than two-thirds of the brass was carried off by thieves. Only fragments now remain, the church, the bier, two pieces of canopy-finials, and the effigy of Rouclyff himself. He was "tercius Baro de Scio dñi Regis," and is represented in his robes, but without a coif. Norfolk and Warwickshire schools of engraving have already been mentioned as illustrated in this little group of brasses. The Cowthorpe brass was by some member of another local school settled in Yorkshire, where there are several brasses of a quite unusual type, of which this was one.

A few more judicial brasses occur in the sixteenth century—

Cheltenham, Glos., 1513, Sir Wm. Greville and wife.
 Norbury, Derbs., 1538, Sir Anthony Fitzherbert and wife.
 Cople, Beds., 1544, Sir Walter Luke and wife.



JOHN REDE, SERJEANT-AT-LAW, 1404
CHECKENDON, OXFORDSHIRE

Aston, Warw., 1545, Thos. Holte, Esq., and wife.
 Halton, Bucks., 1553, Hen. Bradshawe, Esq., and wife.
 Milton, Cambs., 1553, Wm. Coke and wife.
 Narburgh, Norfolk, 1556, Sir John Spelman and wife.
 Cople, Beds., 1563, Nich. Luke, Esq., and wife.
 Noke, Oxon., 1598, Hen. Bradshawe, Esq.

These are, again, all justices of the Common Pleas or barons of the Exchequer in their official robes, except that Nich. Luke has no coif, and the second Henry Bradshawe no mantle. He shares a small quadrangular and mural plate with his wife and his wife's first husband. Thos. Holte, also, is mutilated and headless; he was a "Justice of North Wales." In the kneeling figures of Sir Walter Luke and Sir John Spelman the robes are cut away and their folds represented by raised lines, the surface being made with colour, which largely remains in the Cople brass, a strong red. Luke was "One of the Justyc' of the plees Holden before the most Excelent prynce Kyng Henry the Eyght," while Spelman was "Secondary Justic' of the king bench."

Serjeants-at-law are represented by a few brasses—

Checkendon, Oxon., 1404, John Rede.
 Gosfield, Essex, 1439, Thos. Rolf.
 Whaddon, Bucks., 1519, Thos. Pygott and two wives.
 St. Mary Redcliff, Bristol, 1522, John Brook and wife.

The Checkendon brass is a fine one, with triple canopy, architectural base, and marginal inscription, and John Rede is shown in a plain gown edged with fur, but without waistband or girdle, and a hood. Thos. Rolf is more distinctively dressed in a cassock and tabard or rochet, like those worn in academical brasses, a tippet edged with fur, a hood with two labels or "bands," and a coif. This is the usual dress, and is exemplified in the other instances given. At Cople, Beds., there is also probably a serjeant-at-law, in gown, tippet, hood, and coif, but omitting the tabard and bands. The date is *c.* 1410, to "Nichol Rolond & Pernel sa femme," but with no further particulars.

The legal profession is, of course, represented in other brasses where no special costume is given. This, for instance, is the case in the fine brass of Robert Ingylton, Esq., and his three wives, 1472 (illustrated on p. 184), who lie beneath a good quadruple canopy at



A NOTARY, c. 1475
ST. MARY TOWER, IPSWICH

Thornton, Bucks. Ingylton is described in existing hexameters as "Juris Patronus," in his lost marginal inscription as "Juris peritus," and is noted in Haines, as having been Chancellor of the Exchequer. He is in full armour. John Eyer, Esq., 1561, at Narburgh, Norfolk, is also in armour, and was Master of Chancery, and a receiver-general to Queen Elizabeth. Sir John Tregonwell, D.C.L., 1565, at Milton Abbey, Dorset, was also "a master of the chauncerye," and is in a tabard-of-arms. At Somerton, Oxon., another armed figure, of Wm. Fermoure, Esq., 1552, was Clerk of the Crown in the King's Bench.

Again, at Sculthorpe, Norfolk, 1470, there is a small kneeling figure in armour to "Henricus Untōn Gentilman quodam Cirographori dīa Regis de Coi Banco," the duties of a chirographer being to ingross and make proclamation of fines in the Common Pleas, and to deliver the indentures of them to the party.

Notaries wear a plain gown with ink horn and pencase suspended from the belt, and a scarf and cap on the left shoulder. Instances occur at Great Chart, Kent, *c.* 1470, St. Mary Tower, Ipswich, *c.* 1475 and 1506, and at New College, Oxford, *c.* 1510. The first of the Ipswich notaries is here illustrated, a well-known brass. A canopy, scrolls at the side of the figure, and the inscription have been lost, and the effigy has been relaid in a new stone.

Without distinctive dress, John Muscote, gentleman, at Earls Barton, Northants., 1512, was a protho-notary of the Court of Common Pleas, and William Mordant, Hempstead, Essex, 1518, a chief protho-notary. Finally, Bartholomew Willesden, at Willesdon, Middlesex, 1492, was comptroller of the great roll of the pipe, and wears his hat on his right shoulder, with a long flowing scarf hanging in front. The office of notary, it may be added, is said to be the oldest legal one in the world. Notaries were the officials who drew up, witnessed, and sealed various legal documents, and kept the records of the law court. In the Middle Ages they were frequently in minor orders, but were not celibate. Master Robert Wymbyll, the second Ipswich notary, had a wife Alice, who afterwards married Thos. Baldry, merchant. Any document under the hand and seal of a public notary is recognized as valid by all nations, and the office still exists.

CHAPTER VIII

THE WARS OF THE ROSES

1453-1485

IN 1452, the previous year to that in which had been fought the last fight of the Hundred Years' War, Richard of York took up arms against the Duke of Somerset, and marched with ten thousand men towards London. Two years later Prince Edward was born, and Henry VI. sank into a state of imbecility. On May 23, 1455, a battle was fought at St. Albans, in which the Yorkists were superior, and thus began the long Civil Wars which were to end only with the death of Richard III. on Bosworth Field.

And yet with all the cruelty and brutality of long-continued warfare, there were no buildings destroyed or demolished, and the ruin and bloodshed fell chiefly upon the great lords and their retainers, and not upon the people in general.

Brasses, though greatly inferior in merit, were just as frequently laid down, and we find about three hundred and fifty figure-brasses still existing to be referred to this period of little more than thirty years. Short though it is, the period stands by itself, and has its own most distinctive style of armour, and one equally distinct type of feminine costume, of which the leading feature is the butterfly head-dress, with its spreading frame of wirework, and its gauzy veil.

Nevertheless, the period is one of rapid deterioration in workmanship, and there are very few of the three hundred and fifty brasses which can in any sense be described as "fine."

The best are probably those at Castle Donington, Leicester, 1458, to Robert Staunton, Esq., and his wife; Northleach, Gloucester, 1458, to John Fortey, woolman (cf. p. 169); Balsham, Cambridgeshire, 1462, to Dean Blodwell (cf. p. 129); Enfield, Middlesex, *c.* 1470, to Joyce Lady Tiptoft; Thornton, Buckinghamshire, 1472, to Robert Ingylton and his three wives (cf. illustration and p. 180); and Isleham, Cambridgeshire, 1484, to Thomas Peyton, Esq., and two wives. These all have good canopies, with much interesting detail, but of a considerably heavier and less graceful kind than heretofore.

There are also at Tattershall, Lincolnshire, three other richly canopied brasses, dated 1455, 1479, and 1497, the two later having probably been engraved *c.* 1460, which still form a really grand series, in spite of the fact that the earliest of them is in an extremely mutilated condition. They commemorate Ralph Lord Treasurer Cromwell, and the two nieces, Lady Cromwell and Lady Willoughby d'Eresby, to whom he left his estates. From Henry VI., Lord Cromwell had obtained a licence to convert the parish church of Tattershall into a Collegiate Church, with a warden or provost, six other priests, six secular clerks, and six choristers; and an almshouse next to the churchyard for thirteen poor persons of either sex. A magnificent red-brick castle adjoining was also built by him, and probably the new church was begun as soon as the great tower of the castle was finished, thus affording an exact comparison of the secular and ecclesiastical architecture of that date. All three brasses have been badly treated and several times removed, but were carefully re-laid in July 1909, and properly secured with brass rivets in their original slabs, which now lie in the pavement of the north transept. Lord Cromwell, headless and much injured, wears over his armour a mantle which has been thought to be that of the Order of the Garter. There is, however, no record that he ever belonged to it, and the distinctive badges are missing. The support of the feet consist of two "wode-

howses," or hairy wild men armed with clubs. The figure of Lady Cromwell and the greater part of the canopy are now lost, but of the side shafts, which consisted each of five panels, four sections remain and are of much interest. They contain elaborate niches and the figures of saints. On the dexter side three warriors, St. George slaying the dragon, St. Maurice with a halberd, and St. Candidus with lance and pennon; on the sinister side, in the topmost panel, a St. Peter in triple tiara, cope, and crossed stole. Joan Lady Cromwell retains her canopy, which is of very peculiar design and again enriched with saints. Her first husband, Sir Humphrey Bourchier, was killed at the battle of Barnet in 1471. The third brass has also a beautiful triple canopy, much mutilated, and a super-canopy with four saints in either shaft, all of which remain, and have been re-arranged in their proper order. The lady was thrice married, and two of her husbands were slain in the Wars of the Roses, Sir Thomas Neville at the battle of Wakefield, 1460, and Sir Gervase Clifton at the battle of Tewkesbury in 1471.

Besides these, there are very few other canopies at all, and the brasses are generally of medium or small size.

In armour, the peculiarities noticed at the close of the Lancastrian period at once develop into a new type, which may be taken to be either the perfection of the Gothic armament or its downfall. The great feature is in the addition of fresh pieces of armour of exaggerated size and strange shapes. On the one hand it has been pointed out that all the changes are entirely dictated by fitness to purpose, and the requirements of jousts and war. Decorative and subtle shell-like ridgings and flutings are really present more to deflect the weapon's point than as ornament, while the engrailing, dentelling, scalloping, and punching of the margins of the plates, which now appear, unmistakably indicate that the decorative spirit is applied to embellishing and not to concealing the steel.

On the other hand, the new pieces of armour are often so

heavy and clumsy that they must have considerably hampered the men who wore them, and prevented their activity in the field of battle. They seem to have caused the reintroduction of the padded and quilted haqueton, which again appears in several military brasses. In the French wars it had usually been the custom for knights and men-at-arms to fight on foot, sending their horses to the rear. In the Wars of the Roses they more often charged on horseback, and this will in some sense account for the increased weight upon the body, arms, and shoulders, while the lower limbs are left more free, with altogether lighter defences.

The most beautiful example is in the superb gilded metal effigy of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, on his tomb in St. Mary's Church (cf. p. 64), of the date 1454, than which there is nothing finer in England. Every fastening, strap, buckle and hinge is represented with scrupulous fidelity, and indeed the armour is supposed to be a faithful reproduction of that famous Milan suit in which he held his tournament victoriously for three days against all comers, presenting each of his discomfited adversaries with new war-chargers, feasting the whole company, and finally "returning to Calais with great worship."

The brasses are numerous, and there are more than seventy armed figures still in existence, of which a selection is now given :—

- Castle Donington, Leics., 1458, Robt. Staunton, Esq., and wife.
- Sherborne, Norfolk, 1458, Sir Thos. Sherborne and wife.
- Preston-by-Faversham, Kent, 1459, Wm. Mareys, Esq.
- Wilmslow, Cheshire, 1460, Sir Robt. del Bothe and wife.
- Thame, Oxon., c. 1460, Rich. Quatremayns, Esq., wife and son.
- Cirencester, Glos., 1462, Wm. Prelatte, Esq., and two wives.
- Green's Norton, Northants., 1462, Sir Thos. Grene and wife.
- Hathersage, Derbs., 1463, Robt. Eyr, Esq., and wife.
- Arundel, Sussex, 1465, John Threel and wife.
- Stow-cum-Quy, Cambs., c. 1465, John Ansty, Esq.
- Hildersham, Cambs., 1466, Hen. Paris, Esq., under canopy.

Aughton, Yorks., 1466, Rich. Ask, Esq., and wife.
 Stokerston, Leics., 1467, John Boville and wife.
 Tong, Salop., 1467, Sir Wm. Vernon and wife.
 Morley, Derbs., 1470, Sir Thos. Stathum and two wives.
 Stoke Rochford, Lincs., 1470, Hen. Rochforth, Esq., and wife.
 Addington, Kent, 1470, Robt. Watton, Esq., and wife.
 Bylaugh, Norfolk, 1471, Sir John Curson and wife.
 Thornton, Bucks., 1472, Robt. Ingylton and three wives.
 Sprotborough, Yorks., 1474, Wm. Fitz-William, Esq., and wife.
 Mugginton, Derbs., *c.* 1475, Nich. Kniveton and wife.
 Sotterley, Suffolk, 1479, Thos. Playters, Esq., and wife.
 St. Albans Abbey, 1480, Sir Anth. Grey.
 Westminster Abbey, 1483, Sir Thos. Vaughan (mutilated).
 Isleham, Cambs., 1484, Thos. Peyton, Esq., and two wives.

The head is usually bare. Nevertheless, the very distinctive head-piece, called the sallad or shell-helmet, which was principally in use during the Wars of the Roses, appears occasionally. It differs altogether from the bascinet of former times, or the close-fitting armet which was to come, and was shaped like a great hat, often with a wide brim which projected far behind. With it was worn the bavier, a chin-piece which was attached to the sallad itself, or a mentonière fastened to the breast-plate, and a hinged vizor, which in brasses is invariably raised. Good examples occur at Castle Donington (without the bavier), Cirencester, Addington, Sprotborough, and in small brasses at St. Peter's, Leeds, 1459 (Sir John Langton), and Great Thurlow, Suffolk, *c.* 1460.

In the shoulder-pieces there is considerable variation. Sometimes there are heavy epaulières of several overlapping pieces, as at Castle Donington. At Thame, in both figures, these appear on the right shoulder only, with a placcate or moton at the armpit, and a ridged pauldron on the left arm. Where there is no bavier a standing collar or "standard" of mail now frequently appears round the throat.

But the pauldrons are the usual defences of the shoulders. At first they are made of single plates, with one or more



SIR THOMAS SHERNBORNE, 1458
SHERNBORNE, NORFOLK

ridges, as at Shernborne (cf. illustration) and Wilmslow, and afterwards more frequently of two, which are riveted together and have no ridges at all, as at Morley, Thornton, and St. Albans. A hooked lance-rest is often screwed to the cuirass on the right side, as at Hildersham and Green's Norton. Elbow-pieces, now termed *coudières*, present, however, the greatest extravagances, and often resemble in size as well as shape the great morions of the Tudor pikemen. The knight illustrated wears but moderate *coudières*, though he is otherwise a very typical figure. He, Sir Thomas Shernborne, was chamberlain to Margaret of Anjou, and married Jamina de Cherneys, a lady-in-waiting to the queen. At Castle Donington and Thame the *coudières* are fan-shaped and of really enormous size. The arming-points or studs by which they are attached are often shown, those at Tong taking the form of small rosettes. Like the head, hands are now often bare, but clumsy gauntlets also appear, with backs like the shell of a tortoise, and long, pointed cuffs. The skirt of taces becomes shorter and the *tuilles* correspondingly large, with a *baguette* of mail between them, or a small mail skirt or fringe. The *tuilles* are conspicuously strapped to the taces, as at Shernborne, and end in a point which almost touches the *genouillère*. This has frequently an overlapping plate at the back, and other additional pieces. The *sollerets* are still long and pointed. The sword, instead of being worn at the left side, is now almost invariably suspended from a small belt in front of the body, the dagger maintaining its usual position upon the right.

Amongst the signs of deterioration in workmanship it may be noticed that, whereas the head is still often pillowed upon a tilting-helm, as if the effigy were recumbent, the feet are placed upon a ground of grass and flowers, as if it were standing in an upright position. An early example may be seen in the otherwise excellent brass of Sir William and Lady Vernon at Tong, already mentioned. At Sir William's head

are his helm, crest (a boar's head), and mantling, and at his feet grass and trefoils. His wife, on the contrary, dressed in kirtle, sideless cote-hardi, mantle, widow's wimple, and veil, has nothing beneath her head, and an elephant at her feet. Similar incongruities are to be found in many brasses of the period, and almost always arise from the same cause, the desire to introduce a helm and crest, or some other heraldic bearing, as in the case of Lady Vernon. The illustration on page 193 provides another instance, and shows a knight apparently standing, but yet pillowing his head. The Vernon brass is also remarkable for the free introduction of small scrolls, which are given not only above the principal effigies, but proceed also from the mouths of five of their twelve children, one being lost, who are placed in a row singly or in pairs underneath. From the father, "*Benedictus deus in donis suis ;*" from the mother, "*Jhū fili dauid miserere nob' ;*" from the eldest son, "*Sp'auī in dñō et eripiat me ;*" from the second, "*ffili dei memento mei ;*" from the fifth, "*Dñe leuauī aīam meā ad te ;*" from the third daughter, "*Jhū fili' marie pietat' miserere nobis.*" The heraldry is also complete and interesting. Sir William was Knight Constable of England, probably in succession to Sir Sampson Meverill, who held it from and in the lifetime of John, Duke of Bedford.

Sir Thos. Stathum and his wives at Morley, Derbyshire, have also scrolls, and these are of special interest, because they are addressed each to the patron saint, who is represented on a small plate above. They may all be seen in the accompanying illustration. Sir Thomas has "*S̄cē Scristofere ora p nobis,*" to a pleasing figure of St. Christopher, with one foot raised and one in the stream, and the Divine Child upon his shoulder, carrying an orb and sceptre. The dexter wife, Elizabeth, exclaims, "*S̄cā Anna ora p nobis,*" to St. Anne and the little Virgin, who wears a kirtle and sideless cote-hardi. The second wife, Thomasine, has "*S̄cā Maria ora pro*

nobis," the Blessed Virgin being throned, with mantle, crown, and sceptre, and the Holy Child upon her lap.

It is during the Yorkist period that tabards-of-arms begin to come into common use, and with them the heraldic kirtles and mantles worn by the ladies. The tabard was a short square coat, put on over the armour, and emblazoned with the wearer's arms. These were also repeated on each of its sleeves, which terminate above the elbow. The jupon had formerly been the vehicle for heraldic expression, and the tabard takes its place. The earliest now found on a brass is at Amberley, Sussex, 1424 (cf. p. 42 and illustration), worn by John Wantele over Lancastrian armour, but in this first example the arms are not repeated on the sleeves. The second instance is at Childrey, Berks., 1444, in a fine canopied brass for Wm. Fynderne, Esq., and his wife, who are both heraldically attired. But even here the tabard has not reached its conventional shape, and covers all the body-armour. The arms emblazoned are—*Argent, a chevron between 3 crosses pattée-fitchée sable, the chevron differenced by an annulet of the field.*

Examples in the Yorkist period occur at—

Edenhall, Cumberland, 1458, Wm. Stapilton, Esq., and wife.

Stow-cum-Quy, Cambs., c. 1465, sons of John Ansty, Esq.

Lowick, Northants., 1467, Hen. Grene, Esq., and wife.

Broxbourne, Herts., 1473, Sir John Say and wife.

St. George's Chapel, Windsor, 1475, Sir Thos. Sellynger and wife.

St. Mary Redcliff, Bristol, 1475, Philip Mede, Esq., and two wives.

During the Tudor period they become far more common. In the Edenhall brass the arms are Stapilton impaling Veteripont, and are properly repeated on the sleeves. There is a well-expressed sallad helmet with a raised vizor, but no bavier. At Quy, or, more correctly, Stow, it is only the sons who wear tabards, twelve in number, all alike, and kneeling, in a small plate which touches the lower fillet of a marginal inscription. The father wears the ordinary Yorkist armour, with ridged



SIR THOMAS STATHUM AND HIS WIVFS ELIZABETH AND THOMASINE, 1470
MORLEY, DERBYSHIRE

pauldrons and heavy tuilles. The Lowick brass includes nine scrolls (one lost), inscribed, "Da gl̃iam Deo."

Sir John and Lady Say are more interesting, the brass having been engraved under the direction of Sir John himself, and laid down by his order upon an altar-tomb at the decease of Lady Say in 1473. Moreover, the actual colours of the armorial insignia still remain to a quite considerable extent, and consist largely of red and blue enamel, these tinctures being the leading ones in the Say arms, viz. *Per pale azure and gules, 3 chevronels or, each charged with another humetté, counterchanged of the field.* Sir John Say was a privy councillor, speaker of the House of Commons, and an esquire-at-arms to Edward IV. Lady Say is also richly attired in a heraldic mantle emblazoned with her own arms, which retains much of its colour.

The Windsor and Bristol brasses are early examples of the use of mural quadrangular plates, which must not be confused with foreign work. Sir Thos. St. Leger (Sellynger) married Anne, Duchess of Exeter and sister to Edward IV., and the brass, which is fixed to the wall of the Rutland chapel, depicts them both in heraldic dresses, together with a representation of the Holy Trinity. The Mede brass is similar, except that there are two wives, one only of whom is in a heraldic mantle, and there is a demi-figure of our Saviour.

The Lancastrian collar of SS. naturally disappears during the Yorkist period, only one instance of its use having been noticed—in the Kniveton brass at Mugginton, Derbyshire, c. 1475. It is there worn with the portcullis, the badge of the Beauforts and afterwards of the Tudors. Still later instances occur at Little Bentley, Essex, c. 1490, and at Aspley Guise, Beds., at about the same date, though without the portcullis.

But the Yorkists had a collar of their own, consisting of a succession of alternate suns and roses, and adopted by Edward IV. after the battle of Mortimer's Cross in 1461. It is worn by Sir John Say at Broxbourne, Sir Anthony Grey

at St. Albans, and many others. But perhaps the best example is in the brass of the Earl of Essex at Little Easton, already mentioned (p. 154) as a Garter knight in the mantle and badge of his illustrious Order. Though without canopy, the brass must be included amongst the few fine specimens of the age. Both the earl and countess wear the Collar of Suns and Roses, and to that of the latter a lion couchant is attached as a pendant. The earl's head rests upon his coroneted and crested tilting-helm, the countess upon a diapered cushion, supported by angels.

Ladies' costume during the first half of the period still usually consists of the kirtle and mantle, horned head-dress, and veil. As time goes on, the horns are drawn closer together over the head, and the shape is more correctly described as "mitred." At the same time the reticulations of the network and its jewelled knots and bands are generally omitted, not perhaps because they were absent, but because the brasses were less carefully drawn. The mantle is also frequently omitted, unless emblazoned with heraldry, and the shape of the kirtle changes. In the form exhibited by the three wives of Robert Ingylton, Esq., at Thornton, in 1472 (p. 184), and the two Stathums at Morley, in 1470 (p. 193), the tight sleeves are furnished with fur cuffs, and the neck is also cut low and trimmed with fur. This dress is typical and very frequent.

The butterfly head-dress begins to be worn at the same time; in fact, at Thornton, while the three mothers are in mitred head-dresses, their daughters, who appear on separate plates below the principal figures, are all in butterfly. It is found typically in the costume of Lady Say, above mentioned, in 1473. Her neck is enriched with a gorgeous carcanet of gems, and her hair drawn tightly back from the forehead into a square-shaped net, which is ornamented with braid and jewels. Over, above, and around this a veil of gauze is extended upon wires, and the butterfly appearance is thus given. In actual use it must have been both light and beautiful.



SIR THOMAS URSWYK AND HIS WIFE, 1479.
DAGENHAM, ESSEX.

In brasses it looks heavy and uncouth, being eminently unsuited for reproduction in such a material.

The brass of Sir Thomas Urswyk, 1479, Recorder of London and Chief Baron of the Exchequer, at Dagenham, Essex, will serve to illustrate the point. His wife wears the butterfly head-dress, extended from an elaborate net, and the usual low-necked and close-fitting gown, with its furred edge falling so far down that the upper part of the corsage is exposed to view. Her cuffs and her necklace are also very typical, and even her attitude, in which the body is thrown back from the hips. The group of daughters is of much greater interest. The first was a nun, of whom mention has been made on p. 131; the next two are like their mother, except that they have no mantles or necklaces, and, indeed, resemble even more nearly the usual ladies of the period, while the other six are probably unique, so far as brasses are concerned, in their conical nets and long hair. Their brothers are in the ordinary civilian dress of the time, but by a comparatively recent act of theft the plate has now disappeared from the slab. A chamfer inscription round the verge is also lost. Further mention of Sir Thomas will be found (p. 178) in the preceding section upon brasses to members of the legal profession. The height of the principal effigies is about 2 feet 3 inches.

A few examples are now given of ladies represented alone. The earlier will usually be in horned, the later in mitred, or in butterfly head-dresses. Widows still wear the wimple and veil. Maiden ladies usually have long, flowing hair.

- Cheshunt, Herts., 1453, Joan Cley.
- Ware, Herts., 1454, Elena Warbulton.
- Dartford, Kent, 1454, Agnes Molyngton (widow).
- Swithland, Leics., *c.* 1455, Agnes Scot.
- Ingrave, Essex, 1457, Marg. FitzLewis.
- Blickling, Norfolk, 1458, Cecilie Boleyn (maiden).
- Ash-next-Sandwich, Kent, *c.* 1460, Jane Keriell.

Cheddar, Somerset, *c.* 1460, Isabell Cheddar.

Stoke d'Abernon, Surrey, 1464, Anna Norbury.

Herne, Kent, 1470, Christine Phelip.

Farringdon, Berks., 1471, Petronilla Parker.

Erith, Kent, 1470, Emma Wode.

All Saints, Stamford, Lincs., 1471, Marg. Elmes.

Little Wittenham, Berks., 1472, Cecilia Kydwelly.

Harrington, Lincs., 1480, Marg. Copledike.

Oxted, Surrey, 1480, Joan Haselden.

Etchingham, Sussex, 1480, Elizth. and Agnes Echyngham (maidens).

Raveningham, Norfolk, 1483, Marg. Wyllughby.

Jane Keriell at Ash has a quite unique head-dress, in which the netted horns are joined to a large inverted horse-shoe ornament, rising to a great height from the forehead. Her inscription is a curious example of rhymed verse. Another brass of special interest is that at Herne to Christine Phelip, wife of Sir Matthew Phelip, citizen and goldsmith of London. It presents many peculiarities, and, being finely executed and finished, was probably engraved in the husband's workshop, instead of by the ordinary brass-workers. The head-dress is mitred, and the pattern of the net carefully drawn. The waistband is broad and has a large rosary attached; the hands are spread with palms outwards, and the mantle is unusually long and heavily lined with fur.

Where dresses are emblazoned with heraldry, the lady's personal coat-of-arms is frequently embroidered upon her kirtle, her husband's upon the mantle. But more often it is only the mantle which is thus decorated, and then the arms will generally be impaled, the husband's on the dexter side, the wife's on the sinister, as in a shield.

Ladies in heraldic dresses are found at Upminster, Essex, 1455, in the brass of Elizabeth Dencourt; Enfield, Middlesex, *c.* 1470; and Long Melford, Suffolk, *c.* 1480.

The Long Melford ladies are in butterfly head-dresses, and have their kirtles emblazoned as well as their mantles, and each lies under a now mutilated canopy. The first was

probably Margery Clopton, and the second Alice Harleston, mother and half-sister respectively of John Clopton, a great benefactor to the noble church of Long Melford, by whose order possibly the brasses were executed. Lady Tiptoft's brass at Enfield has a very fine triple canopy, on the shafts of which are suspended six shields of arms, bearing, in various combinations, the arms of Powis, Holland, and Tiptoft. The lady wears a richly jewelled horned head-dress and coronet, necklace and pendant, a furred, sideless cote-hardi over her low-necked kirtle, and her mantle, which bears a lion rampant on the dexter side for Powis, and within a border 3 lions passant gardant for Holland. She was the daughter of Edward Charlton Lord Powis, whose wife was daughter to Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent. Her husband's arms, a saltire engrailed, do not appear on the dress. He, Sir John Tiptoft, was summoned to Parliament as Baron Tiptoft and Powis, and having been in high reputation with Henry V. and Henry VI., died in 1442, nearly four years before his wife. Probably her son, John Lord Tiptoft, who was beheaded in 1470, erected this altar-tomb to his mother's memory. A later stone canopy has been built over the tomb, and portions of the masonry superimposed upon parts of the marginal inscription.

Civilians are represented by rather more than a hundred examples. But there is very little variety amongst them, for their costume remains the same throughout the period. The plain gown reaching to a short distance below the knee, with bag sleeves drawn in at the wrists, and a leather belt, continue to be worn. The mantle seldom appears except as an indication of official position. Anelaces become rare, and in their place a short rosary is often worn, composed of a few large beads, usually twelve in number, and ending in a short tassel. The hair is close cropped, and the feet are in pointed shoes. With the exception of the great woolmen's brasses at Northleach and Stamford the figures are generally small and

of little account. A few are, however, here given by way of examples—

- Leigh, Essex, 1453, Rich. and John Haddock and wives.
 Bethersden, Kent, 1459, Wm. Lovelace, Gent.
 Walton, Suffolk, 1459, Wm. Tabard and wife.
 Stanton Harcourt, Oxon., 1460, Thomas Harecourt, Esq., and Nich. Atherton, Esq.
 Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, *c.* 1460, Edw. Courtenay.
 Rodmarton, Glos., 1461, John Edward.
 Barkway, Herts., 1461, Robt. Poynard and two wives.
 Aldwinckle, Northants., 1463, Wm. Aldewyncle, Esq.
 Chipping Campden, Glos., 1467, John Lethenard, mcht., and wife.
 Chenies, Bucks., 1469, John Waliston, smith, and two wives.
 Thwaite, Norfolk, 1469, John Puttok and wife.
 Sawbridgeworth, Herts., 1470, Geoff. Joslyne and two wives.
 St. Margaret, Canterbury, 1470, John Wynter, mayor.
 Quethiock, Cornwall, 1471, Roger Kyngdon and wife.
 St. John Maddermarket, Norwich, 1472, Ralph Segrim, sheriff and mayor, and wife.
 Great Linford, Bucks., 1473, Roger Hunt and wife.
 St. Nicholas, Ipswich, 1475, Wm. Style and wife.
 St. John's, Bristol, 1478, Thos. Rowley, sheriff, and wife.
 Wormley, Herts., 1479, Edm. Howton and wife.
 East Malling, Kent, 1479, Thos. Selby and wife.
 Barrowby, Lincs., 1479, Nich. Deene and wife.
 Chittlehampton, Devon, 1480, John Coblegh and two wives.
 Loughborough, Leics., 1480, Thos. Marchall, mcht., and wife.
 St. Mary Redcliff, Bristol, *c.* 1480, John Jay, sheriff, and wife.
 St. Mary's, Bury St. Edmund's, Suffolk, *c.* 1480, John Smyth and wife.
 Little Wittenham, Berks., 1483, Geoff. Kidwelly, Esq.
 Tideswell, Derbs., 1483, Robt. Lytton and wife.

Very few offices are mentioned in the inscriptions, other than those of sheriff, alderman, and mayor. David Kidwelly, however, at Little Wittenham, Berks., 1454, was Porter of the Palace to Henry VI., and Gauwyn More, Gent., at Tilehurst in the same county, 1469, Marshall of the King's Hall. William Robins, Esq., St. Stephen's, St. Albans, 1482, was

Clerk of the Signet to Edward IV. At Stopham, Sussex, there are several officials of Arundel Castle, who compose a somewhat interesting series of brasses. The first is to John Bartelot, Treasurer of the Household to Thomas Earl of Arundel, engraved *c.* 1460, in civilian dress. With him is another John Bartelot, in armour, but engraved at about the same time, and described as "Consul providus" to Thomas, John, and William, Earls of Arundel, and in 1478, Richard Bertlot, Esq., Marshal of the Hall of the Earl of Arundel. All these are accompanied by their wives, and there are other and later brasses in the church to members of the same family.

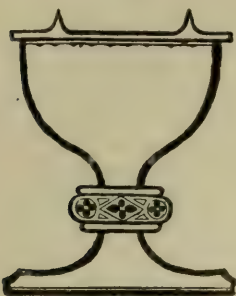
Several entirely new types of brasses commence in the fifteenth century, and become strongly developed and very numerous in the next, the Tudor period, which will provide the bulk of examples. Such are chalice brasses, heart brasses, shrouds, and skeletons. It will be convenient to deal with each group in an appendix to the present chapter, gathering all examples under their proper heading.

APPENDIX (I)

CHALICE BRASSES

It appears to have been the usual custom during the twelfth and subsequent centuries for priests to be buried in their vestments, with a chalice and paten placed upon the breast. The coffin-chalices were commonly made of pewter, lead, or tin, and were not actual altar-vessels, though copied from them. As priests were buried, so were they figured in their monumental brasses, and therefore it is very usual for those who appear in eucharistic vestments to be shown with their chalices also. About fifty brasses illustrate this, and many of them will be found noted in the lists given in Chapter VI. In some instances the chalice is "covered" by its paten, as at Wensley,

Yorks, and North Mimms, Herts., *c.* 1360, both of foreign workmanship (cf. p. 93). But most often, instead of a paten, the wafer is



CHALICE FROM BRASS OF
SIMON DE WENSLAGH, *c.*
1360
WENSLEY, YORKSHIRE

drawn as if it were rising from the bowl plain, or inscribed with a cross or the sacred monogram, and sometimes surrounded by rays.

In the fifteenth century a further custom arose to design brasses in which the chalice, or chalice and wafer, alone represented the burial-place of a priest, without effigy, though of course with an inscription. The earliest examples are found in Yorkshire, and are the work of local engravers probably settled in York. Four are known—

Ripley, 1429, Rich. Kendale.

Bishop Burton, 1460, Peter Johnson.

St. Michael Spurriergate, York, 1466, Wm. Langton.

St. Peter's, Leeds, 1469, Thos. Clarell.

All of these are without either paten or wafer. The Ripley chalice, set below its inscription, is only $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height, and has been broken between the knot and the foot. It has a deep hemispherical bowl, long stem with large knot, and a spreading foot. Until the middle of the fourteenth century, the feet of chalices, and also the knots, had been circular. But at about that time it became customary all over Western Europe to lay down the chalice on the paten to drain after the ablutions at mass. One with a round foot would have a tendency to roll, and so the shape became hexagonal. Thus, while in the Wensley brass the foot is circular, in these, and all that remain to be described, it is hexagonal or octagonal.

The chalice at St. Michael Spurriergate has been seriously damaged within recent years by the loss of its bowl. It was of good proportion, $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, and well engraved. A long slim stem rises from an octagonal foot, and is ornamented with a bold knot of interlaced work. It is interesting to note that William Langton, rector of "St. Michael Ousebridge," by will made December 13, 1464, and proved August 14, 1466, desired to be buried in the choir of his parish church between the high altar and the lavatory, and

amongst various bequests leaves to his church his missal, manual, *chalice*, and three vestments. It is the same chalice perhaps that is copied in the brass. The Leeds chalice has a much shorter stem and wider bowl.

From Yorkshire the practice of laying down chalice brasses spread into Norfolk, and was adopted by the Norwich engravers, who produced by far the greater number of those which have survived. They are, however, later in date.

St. Giles', Norwich, 1499, John Smyth.
 Colney, 1502, Henry Alikok.
 Hedenham, 1502, Rich. Grene.
 Guestwick, 1504, John Robertson.
 Bylaugh, 1508, Robert Feelde.
 Buxton, 1508, Robt. Northen.
 Bintry, 1510, Thos. Hoont.
 Wood Dalling, 1510, Edw. Warcop.
 Surlingham, 1513, Rich. Louhouwys.
 Salthouse, 1519, Robt. Fevyr.
 North Walsham, 1519, Edm. Ward.
 North Walsham, *c.* 1520, Robt. Wythe.
 Old Buckenham, *c.* 1520, unknown.
 Scottow, *c.* 1520, Nich. Wethyrley.
 Little Walsingham, *c.* 1520, Wm. Weststow.
 Attlebridge, *c.* 1525, John Cuynggam.
 Bawburgh, 1531, Wm. Richers.
 South Burlingham, 1540, Wm. Curtes.

Besides these, chalices have been lost, but for the most part their matrices still remain—at Sall, 1482, Barton Turf, 1497, Crostwight, 1497, Strumpshaw, 1500, Sloley, *c.* 1500 and 1503, Trunch, *c.* 1500, St. Michael Coslany, Norwich, *c.* 1515, Hindolvestone, 1531, Northwold, 1531, Little Walsingham, 1532, and Walpole St. Peter, 1537. Unlike the Yorkshire chalices, those in Norfolk are almost invariably provided with the wafer, plain or inscribed, with or without rays. At Little Walsingham the existing chalice is curiously held by a pair of hands which issue from clouds, and again at Bawburgh, though in the latter instance only the thumbs are visible, grasping the lobes of the chalice-foot.

The rest of the chalice brasses which have been noted make but a small list:—

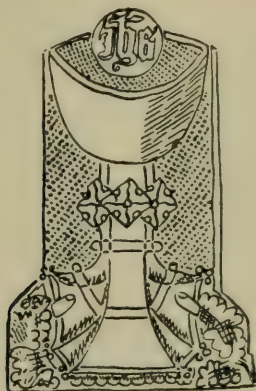
Holwell, Beds., 1515, Robt. Wodehowse.

Shorne, Kent, 1519, Thos. Elys.

Rendham, Suffolk, 1523, Thos. Kyng.

Gazeley, Suffolk, c. 1530, unknown.

The Suffolk examples may be referred to the Norwich engravers. That at Holwell is peculiar. The chalice, with its inscription below, forms the principal part of the memorial, but above it on either side



CHALICE FOR WILLIAM RICKERS, 1531
BAWBURGH, NORFOLK



CHALICE FOR ROBERT WODE-
HOWSE, 1515
HOLWELL, BEDFORDSHIRE

are depicted two small figures of wild men, or "wode-howses," in reference to the name of the priest. It is rare to find a rebus thus occupying so prominent a position. This and the preceding illustrations are made from tracings of rubbings. The Wensley chalice shows the best type of early work, the Bawburgh is a good specimen of the later Norfolk type, and the clumsy Holwell chalice looks like the attempt of an engraver unfamiliar with the required class of memorial.

The Shorne brass in Kent is of the ordinary Norfolk type. Others are lost from Nuthurst, Sussex, and St. Margaret's, Rochester.

At Aldbourne, in Wilts., Henry Frekylton, chaplain, 1508, has a chalice placed beside him, the bowl of which, however, is lost, and the same arrangement is found at Blockley, Worc., in the brass of Philip Worthyng, vicar, 1488, kneeling to the lost figures of the Blessed Virgin and Child.

An interesting brass of a priest in academics, Arthur Vernon, 1517, at Tong, Salop., has a chalice set above the figure and between

two shields of arms. The chalice is 7 inches in height, and has a good open-work knot and a spreading base, apparently of pentagonal shape, with small buttressed knops at the points of the foot. The wafer is inscribed and rayed. A similarly placed chalice, now lost, occurred above the head of a priest, *c.* 1510, at Ashover, Derbyshire.

APPENDIX (2)

HEART BRASSES

THE typical form of a heart brass is seen when this device is placed by itself in the midst of a monumental slab, with three scrolls issuing from it in an upward direction, and a commemorative inscription below. Such brasses are occasionally found, and form as it were a class by themselves, just as do chalices when similarly isolated. Unlike chalices, however, they are not the memorials of any particular order of men, but of many kinds of persons, being very diversely used.

Examples in the simplest form occur at—

St. John's, Margate, Kent, 1433, Thos. Smyth, priest.

Kirby Bedon, Norfolk, *c.* 1450, unknown.

Wiggenhall St. Mary, Norfolk, *c.* 1450, Sir Robt. Kervile.

Trunch, Norfolk, *c.* 1530, unknown.

On the Margate heart are inscribed the words "Credo qd," and the text from Job xix. 25, 26, is continued on the three scrolls: (1) "Redemptor meus vivit," (2) "De terra surrecturus sum," (3) "In carne meo videbo salvatorē meū." The inscription is an ordinary Hic jacet to Thomas Smyth, vicar of the church. The Kirby Bedon inscription is lost, and the Wiggenhall brass partly covered by a seat in the south aisle. It has four scrolls, of which the words are given by Haines from Blomfield's *Norfolk*: (1) "Orate pro aīa dñi Roberti," (2) "Kervile Militis de Wygenhale," (3) "filii Edmundi Keruile de," (4) "Wygenhale cuius cor hic humatur." The last words suggest that here was only the heart of Sir Robert, and not his body, and it is probable that other heart brasses point to

the same kind of interments, which were common enough, especially when death occurred in a foreign land. Thus there is a stone monument with a heart at Burford, Salop., to Edmund Cornwayle, Esq., "who travelling to know forraine countries died at Collenne the XIV yeer of Henry VI and willed his servants to bury his body there, and to enclose his heart in lead and carry it to Burford to be buried."

In like manner the body of Sir Thomas Neville was buried at Birling in 1535, and his heart at Mereworth, Kent, where there is a stone monument, consisting of two hands holding a heart, just as in several brasses.

The story of the death of Richard Cœur-de-Lion is familiar to most people. His body was laid to rest near that of his father, Henry II., in the Abbey Church of Fontevrault, his heart in the choir of Rouen Cathedral, and the leaden covering in which it was buried is now exposed to the curiosity of sight-seers in the Cathedral Treasury.

Another extremely interesting and early case, of which authentic records exist, is that of Nicholas Longespé, Bishop of Salisbury, who was buried in three different places in the same county. He died in 1297 at Ramsbury, in Wiltshire, and in that place his bowels were interred. His body was carried to Salisbury, and there buried beneath a great slab in the Lady Chapel of the Cathedral, formed of two stones measuring together nearly 17 feet by 8 feet, inlaid with brass plates, and the insignia of his family, all of which are now lost. His heart was taken to the Abbey Church of Laycock on the Avon, where a small, coffin-shaped slab, 16 inches by 10 inches, engraved with three croziers in outline, and now lying in the pavement of the cloister, is supposed to have once marked the place of its interment. The church of this abbey was destroyed soon after the dissolution, but several early slabs were removed from the choir into the cloister, and are still in existence.

But to return to the brasses. Besides the four already mentioned, there are three more in Norfolk from which the hearts are lost, though the scrolls remain. They are at Great Ormesby, 1446, Merton, 1474, and Randworth, *c.* 1540.

More often the heart is upheld by two hands, which are seen issuing from clouds, and there are the usual scrolls, on which the text from Job is of frequent occurrence.

Lillingstone Lovell, Oxon., 1446, John Merstun, priest.
 Helhoughton, Norfolk, *c.* 1450, Wm. Stapilton and wife.
 Southacre, Norfolk, 1454, Sir Roger Harsyk and wife.
 Loddon, Norfolk, 1462, Dionysius Willys.
 Elmstead, Essex, *c.* 1500, unknown.
 Caversfield, Bucks., 1533, Thos. Denton.

At Lillingstone Lovell the heart is bleeding, and inscribed "Jh̄c̄." The Southacre heart, which is mutilated, and in 1888 was in the possession of a churchwarden, was fully inscribed with the text from Ps. xxxi. 5: "In ma[nus tuas] dñe com̄en [do spiritum] meū re[demisti me] d[ñe deus veritatis]." It is also palimpsest, and shows upon its reverse the head of a civilian, *c.* 1400. The scroll inscriptions which have survived refer to the persons commemorated: (1) "syk militis et Alici;" (2) "sue quor' aiab' ppiciet deus;" (3) "seruo tuo dñe." Another heart and three scrolls held by hands issuing out of clouds on a shaft are lost from Brancaster, Norfolk, but the inscription to Wm. Cotyng, rector, 1485, remains: "qui hic nūc in puluere dormit expectans adventū Redemptoris sui." The existing brass of Anne Muston, 1496, at Saltwood, Kent, consists of an angel rising from clouds and bearing a heart, with an inscription beneath, which commences, "Here lieth the bowell of dame Anne Muston," evidently another instance of the heart separated from the body. Hearts which differ in various particulars from those types already described are found at—

Martham, Norfolk, 1487, Robt. Alen, priest.
 Fakenham, Norfolk, *c.* 1500, unknown.
 Higham Ferrers, Northants., *c.* 1510, unknown.
 Melton Mowbray, Leics., 1543, Crystofer Tonson and wife.
 Wedmore, Somerset, *c.* 1630, Thos. Hodges, Esq.
 Ludham, Norfolk, 1633, Grace White.

Also hearts are lost, though inscriptions remain, at Itteringham, 1481, and Attlebridge, 1486, in Norfolk. The Martham heart is filled in with enamel, and is but a copy of the original, which has been lost. Upon it are engraved the words, "Post tenebras sp̄o lucē : laus deo meo." At Fakenham there are four double hearts inscribed "Jhū mercy," "ladi help," one at each corner of a large stone. At Higham Ferrers there is nothing but a heart inscribed "Jh̄c̄," above a matrix of what was perhaps the Holy Trinity. At

Melton Mowbray the heart is large and inscribed, with an inscription to Crystofer Tonson and wife, parents of Wm. Tonson, of London, Esquire for the body to Henry VIII., and of Bartholomew Tonson, vicar, who placed it in 1543.

The very late Wedmore brass, which is mural, is more interesting, and consists of an inscription between two standards, and above it a heart inscribed, "Wounded not vanqvisht," and surrounded by laurels; it commemorates Captain Thomas Hodges, "who at the siege of Antwerpe about 1583 with vnconquerd courage wonne two Ensignes from the enemy: where receiuing his last wound he gave three legacyes, his soule to his Lord Jesvs, his body to be lodgd in Flemish earth, his heart to be sent to his deare wife in England."

In all the above brasses the heart forms the central and most important feature of the composition. There are many others in which hearts are introduced in a more subordinate position in connection with figures.

So at All Hallows Barking, by the Tower of London, in the brass of the woolman John Bacon and his wife, 1437, two scrolls rise from their lips, cross one another, and join together again above, encircling a large heart on which is inscribed the word "Mercy." The scrolls bear the words—

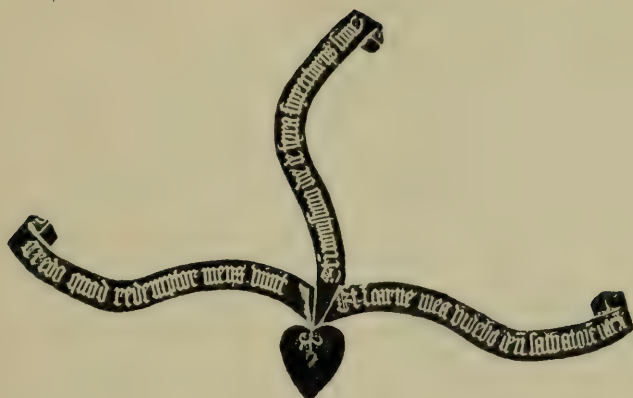
"Jhū . fili . dei . miserere . mei .
Mater . dei . memento . mei . "

and have therefore no special connection with the heart.

At Fawsley, Northants., a heart and three scrolls of the usual type, and bearing the "Credo quod redemptor," are placed above the armed and tabarded figure of Thos. Knyghtley, Esq., 1516, and with four shields of arms at the corners of the slab form an attractive composition. This will also serve to illustrate the simpler form of heart brass, for the upper part is very much like what is found when heart and scrolls appear alone.

From much earlier times it was a frequent custom to place small hearts in the hands of persons commemorated, just as chalices were placed in those of priests, either to indicate that the deceased had been enabled to fulfil some vow, or simply to suggest that the heart was given to God, a "new heart" desired, or that complete trust was placed in the sacred heart of Jesus.

The first example in a brass is at Buslingthorpe, Lincs., c. 1290



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THOMAS KNYGHTLEY, ESQ., 1516
FAWSLEY, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

(cf. p. 17), and there are many others, as at Aldborough, Yorks., *c.* 1360 (Wm. de Aldeburgh, in armour); Broughton, Lincs., *c.* 1370 (Sir Henry and Lady Redford); Brandsburton, Yorks., 1397 (Sir John de St. Quintin); Sheldwich, Kent, 1431 (Joan Mareys, in shroud); Graveney, Kent, 1436 (Judge Martyn); Willian, Herts., 1446 (Rich. Goldon, priest); Great Ormesby, Norfolk, 1446 (a lady); St. Albans Abbey, *c.* 1470 (Robt. Beauver, monk); Letchworth, Herts., 1475 (Thos. Wyrley, priest); Stifford, Essex, *c.* 1480 (priest in shroud); Sawbridgeworth, Herts., 1484 (John Leventhorp, Esq., and wife, in shrouds); Chenies, Bucks., *c.* 1510 (Lady Phelip), and Berkeley, Glos., 1526 (Wm. Freme). Many of these are curious and interesting. The two Yorkshire hearts appear to have been enamelled, as was that of Judge Martyn, which is also inscribed "Jhū m'cy." The half-length figure at Great Ormesby was recently loose in the church chest; the heart bears the following couplet, much effaced:—

"Erth my bodye I giue to the
on my soule Jhū have m'cy."

The St. Albans monk has his heart ensigned with drops of blood, and about his head upon a scroll the words, "Cor mundum crea in me deus."

At Letchworth the heart, although held in the priest's hands, has not only the Credo, but its three accompanying scrolls. At Chenies there are two scrolls, and at Stifford, Sawbridgeworth and Berkeley the hearts are all inscribed.

APPENDIX (3)

SHROUD BRASSES AND SKELETONS

SHROUD brasses and skeletons form yet another distinct class, and first occur sparingly during the fifteenth century, increasing in numbers at its close, and plentifully throughout the Tudor period. As works of art or models of good taste they naturally rank low, and are connected with the general deterioration in brass engraving which set in after the close of the French wars. And yet they are of some

interest, partly as curiosities, and partly because they indicate a morbid spirit, which seems to have affected many minds, even at the very time when, amongst others, the renewed light of learning was making its most enthusiastic and luxuriant progress.

The same morbidness is seen in some of the more pretentious stone monuments of the period. For it is not uncommon, especially in the eastern counties, to find high tombs on which are full-sized, coloured effigies, intended to represent the robes and features of life, while underneath, and visible through open arches, lie the same persons in death—emaciated and shrouded figures in their coffins, realistically and gruesomely carved.

Brasses are more conventional and less unpleasant, and do not, as a rule, exhibit the same contrast between life and death, seeing that the shrouded figures usually hold their place alone. The most frequent exception is when a brass commemorates more than one person, and was laid down at the death of the first and in the lifetime of the second. It then sometimes happened that the deceased was represented by a shrouded figure, and the survivor in ordinary costume, as at Newington-juxta-Hythe, where the husband, who died in 1541, is in his shroud, and the wife, who survived him, in ordinary dress. Or in the curious brass at Taplow, Bucks., 1455, to two brothers and a sister, of whom one brother only is in a shroud. Or, again, in the very extraordinary brass of Tomesina Tendryng, at Yoxford, Suffolk, 1485, there are seven children, each upon a separate plate, three boys in shrouds, and four girls, two of whom are in ordinary dress, with long hair, and two in shrouds. The meaning of this, of course, is that the two daughters alone survived the mother, who is herself but very little covered by her knotted shroud, caught together in front of the body by a single pin.

Fifteenth-century examples are found at—

Sheldwich, Kent, 1431, Joan Mareys.

St. John's, Margate, Kent, 1446, Rich. Notfelde.

St. Laurence, Norwich, 1452, Thos. Childes.

Sall, Norfolk, 1454, John Brigge.

Taplow, Bucks., 1455, John Manfeld.

Brampton, Norfolk, 1468, Robt. Brampton, Esq., and wife.

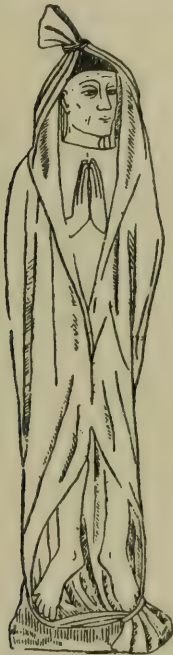
Lytchett Matravers, Dorset, *c.* 1470, Thos. Pethyn, priest.

Sedgefield, Durham, *c.* 1470, man and wife.

Upton, Bucks., 1472, Agnes Bulstrode, kn.

New College, Oxford, 1472, Thos. Flemyng, LL.B., Fellow.
 Stifford, Essex, *c.* 1480, a priest.
 Baldock, Herts., *c.* 1480, man and wife.
 Hitchin, Herts., *c.* 1480, man and wife.
 Digswell, Herts., 1484, Wm. Robert and wife.
 Sawbridgeworth, Herts., 1484, John Leventhorp, Esq., and wife.
 Hitchin, Herts., 1485, Elizth. Mattock.
 Yoxford, Suffolk, 1485, Tomesina Tendryng.
 Lavenham, Suffolk, 1486, Thos. Spryng and wife.
 Hitchin, Herts., *c.* 1490, man and wife.
 Hunsdon, Herts., 1495, Marg. Shelley.
 Great Haseley, Oxon., 1497, Wm. Leynthall.
 Aylsham, Norfolk, 1499, Rich. Howard and wife.

Joan Mareys is a demi-figure, and holds a heart in her hands (cf. p. 210), as do the Leventhorps at Sawbridgeworth. The Margate



SHROUDED FIGURE OF
 WILLIAM ROBERT, 1484
 DIGSWELL, HERTFORD-
 SHIRE

and Norwich brasses are both of skeletons without shrouds. The rest are shrouded figures at full length, and, for the most part, of small size, in winding-sheets knotted above the head and at the feet. The outline figure of William Robert, illustrated from the brass at Digswell, is a very average specimen, and measures $26\frac{1}{2}$ inches. He was "quōdm Auditor Epātus Wyntoñ." Women are distinguished by their long hair, and priests by the tonsure. The inscription at Sall is worth giving, as being not only curious in itself, but suggesting the motive with which such brasses were laid down, because, as Cotman observes, "it was wished to remind men that the robes of pride will shortly be exchanged for the winding-sheet, and that beauty and strength are hastening to the period when they will become as the spectre before them."

"Here lyth John Brigge Undir this Marbil ston
 Whos sowle our lorde ihū haue mercy upoñ
 For in this worlde worthyly he liued many a day
 And here his bodi ys berried and cowched Undir clay

So frendis fre whateuer ye be pray for me y yow pray
As ye me se in soche degre So schall ye be a nothir day."

The same idea is expressed more plainly, and even offensively, in six Latin verses at Sawbridgeworth, which belong to the shrouded figures there, but have been separated from them, and placed upon a neighbouring wall. The words are here given from notes by Mr. Andrews of Hertford—

"En jacet hic pulvis putredo vermis et esca
Est Famulus mortis nam vita jam caret ista
Hic nil scit nil habet nec virtus inde relucet
Cerue luto vilis horror terror fetor orbis
Opprobrium cunctis ac est abjeccio plebis
Hic Frater aspice te spira suffragia p me."

At Lavenham, Suffolk, the brass is mural in the vestry, which is stated to have been built by the Thos. Spryng commemorated, "qui hoc vestibulū fieri fecit in vita sua." The whole family—the husband, with four sons behind him, and the wife, with six daughters—are represented as rising from tombs, an interesting variation of the ordinary shroud brass.

From the year 1500 to the death of Henry VIII. shroud brasses are more numerous, especially in the county of Norfolk, where the local engravers seem to have especially adopted them. The remaining examples are very widely distributed.

Clifton Reynes, Bucks., *c.* 1500, man and wife.
Sawston, Cambs., *c.* 1500, man and wife.
Great Fransham, Norfolk, *c.* 1500, a lady.
Burton Latimer, Northants., *c.* 1500, a lady.
Oddington, Oxon., *c.* 1500, Ralph Hamsterley, priest.
Lowestoft, Suffolk, *c.* 1500, two persons.
Watlington, Oxon., 1501, Wm. Gibsson and wife.
Little Horkesley, Essex, 1502, Kath. Leventhorp.
Bawburg, Norfolk, 1505, Thos. Tyard, S.T.B., priest.
Kirby Bedon, Norfolk, 1505, Wm. Dussyng and wife.
Childrey, Berks., 1507, Joan Strangbon.
Aylsham, Norfolk, 1507, Thos. Wymer.
Ilton, Somerset, 1508, Nich. Wadham.
Minchinhampton, Glos., *c.* 1510, John Hampton, gent., and wife.
Cley, Norfolk, 1512, John Symondes and wife.
Bodiam, Sussex, 1513, Wm. Wetherden, priest.
St. Michael Coslany, Norwich, 1515, Hen. Scolows and wife.

Appleton, Berks., 1518, John Goodryngton, gent.
 Horncastle, Lincs., 1519, Sir Lionel Dymoke.
 Great Berkhamstead, Herts., 1520, Kateryne Incent.
 Childrey, Berks., *c.* 1520, man and wife.
 Wooburn, Bucks., *c.* 1520, man and wife.
 Southfleet, Kent, *c.* 1520, Thos. Cowrll.
 Fincham, Norfolk, *c.* 1520, a lady.
 Frenze, Norfolk, *c.* 1520, Thos. Hobson.
 Weybridge, Surrey, *c.* 1520, three skeletons.
 Fulham, Middlesex, 1529, Marg. Hornebolt, demi.
 Biddenham, Beds., *c.* 1530, man and wife.
 Hildersham, Cambs., *c.* 1530, a man.
 Hornsey, Middlesex, *c.* 1530, John Skevington, child.
 Ketteringham, Norfolk, *c.* 1530, John Colvylye, child.
 Corpus Christi College, Oxford, *c.* 1530, John Claimond, president.
 Edgmond, Salop., 1533, Francis Younge, Esq.
 Penn, Bucks., 1540, Elizth. Rok.
 Wiveton, Norfolk, *c.* 1540, a man.
 Newington-juxta-Hythe, Kent, 1541, Thos. Chylton.
 Wigston's Hospital, Leicester, 1543, Wm. Fyssher, master.
 Loddon, Norfolk, 1546, Sir Thos. Sampson and wife.

By way of additional horror, in one of the above brasses, that at Oddington, the body is accompanied by devouring worms. At Childrey, *c.* 1520, the husband and wife are seen rising from tombs, as in the earlier brass at Lavenham, and the repulsiveness of death is lost in resurrection. But actual burial is the prevalent idea, and we have another curious example of the expression of it in a little label or scroll which is placed between the two figures at Cley, Norfolk, and inscribed with the words "Now thus."

The Horncastle brass is a rare instance of the double representation so common in contemporary monuments of stone. Sir Lionel Dymoke is first seen in armour, kneeling on a cushion, in a small plate evidently by a goldsmith or engraver of copper plates for books, inserted in a slab affixed to the wall, with label, inscription, and coats-of-arms. On the pavement below he appears again, in his shroud, with two scrolls and a second inscription of six Leonine verses.

A few later brasses will bring the list to a close—

Aldenham, Herts., 1547, Lucas Goodyere.
 Waddesdon, Bucks., 1548, Hugh Brystowe, priest.

Shipton-under-Wychwood, Oxon., 1548, Elizth. Horne.

Chicheley, Bucks., *c.* 1560, a man.

Handborough, Oxon., 1567, Alex. Belsyre.

Leigh, Kent, *c.* 1580, a lady.

Church Brampton, Northants., 1585, Jone Furnace.

St. Michael-at-Plea, Norwich, 1588, Barbara Ferrer.

Cassington, Oxon., 1590, Thos. Nele.

Ufford, Suffolk, 1598, Rich. Ballett.

Haversham, Bucks., 1605, John Maunsell, gent.

Crondall, Hants., 1631, John Eager.

Birstall, Yorks., 1632, Elizth. Popeley.

Stowmarket, Suffolk, 1638, Ann Tyrell, child.

West Firle, Sussex, 1638, Lady Mary Howard.

Dunston, Norfolk, 1649, wives of Clere Talbot.

Bawburgh, Norfolk, 1660, Philipp Tenison, S.T.P.

All of these except the first two and the last four are mural, quadrangular plates, and are intended to be pictorial in design. At Shipton, Chicheley, and Handborough the shrouded figures are recumbent. At Leigh a shroud lies in a tomb, and the lady is being summoned to her resurrection by an archangel. Several of the rest are skeletons, and one of them, at St. Michael-at-Plea, is seen rising from a small tomb, on which there is a merchant's mark, and above it the words, "Ecce quod eris." In the Dunston brass the two shrouded wives are on either side of a husband in civil costume, and the inscription and shields are not of brass, but cut into the stone. The little illustrated figure at Bawburgh, only 14 inches high, is of the same type. It should be added that skulls and other emblems of mortality are often included in the composition of late brasses, such as that of Dr. Liddel, illustrated on page 98, particularly in those which are rectangular and pictorial.



SHROUDED FIGURE OF
PHILIPP TENISON, S.T.P.,
1660
BAWBURGH, NORFOLK

CHAPTER IX

BRASSES IN THE TUDOR PERIOD

HENRY VII. 1485-1509

HENRY VIII. 1509-1547

IT is difficult for the student of brasses to realize that Grocyn was delivering his Greek lectures in Oxford as early as the year 1491, Colet his on the Epistles of St. Paul in 1497, and that England was already being stirred to the depths by the new learning. For of this there is no trace to be found in brasses, which continue steadily to deteriorate in workmanship and beauty. The mediæval arts, in fact, were dying, to make room for others which were brought into England by the Renaissance, and brass-engraving was going the way of architecture and of much besides. And yet, while declining in quality, brasses were becoming more numerous than ever before. Just about 1000 figure-brasses precede the accession of Henry VII. The Tudor period alone, to the death of Henry VIII., has 1100 more, some 430 being assigned to the reign of Henry VII. and 670 to that of his son.

In all this mass of material there is much to interest if not always to admire, and there is very great variety, both of subject and treatment. A large number of Tudor brasses have already been considered in earlier sections, as in the appendices to the last two chapters, and in the chapter on the mediæval clergy. But much still remains.

Military figures, as usual, take the first place in importance, and of these there are about 220,—80 in the first part of the

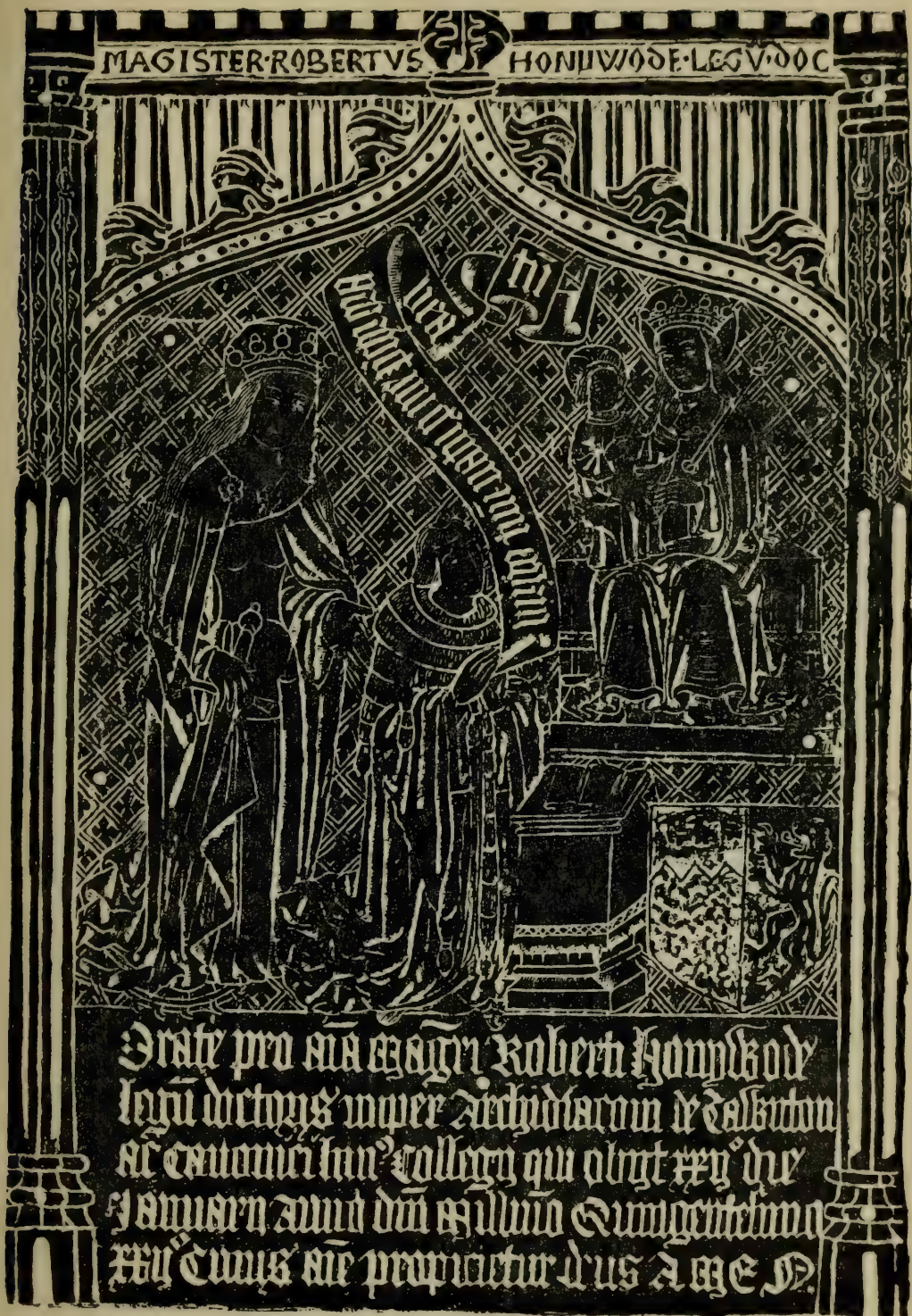
period, and 140 in the second. For a few years the armour remains the same as that worn in the Wars of the Roses, but before the close of the century there had come a complete change. Its first signs, and these begin immediately, are more in style than actual equipment. The head is still almost invariably bare, and the hair, which had been close-cropped, is now worn longer, until it reaches the neck, and sometimes falls upon the shoulders. The sword had been hung in front of the body during the Yorkist period, and previously to that had been figured perpendicularly at the left side; it is now usually suspended behind the body instead of in front, with the hilt projecting on the left. The recumbent attitude is now almost wholly abandoned, and the figures stand upon a ground of grass, leaves, and flowers, and are turned a little sideways, husbands towards their wives, single figures usually to the left. With great incongruity and lack of perception, a helm with crest and mantling still appears occasionally behind the head, especially in tabard brasses, although in all other respects a man may be obviously in an erect posture. Figures are seldom more than 3 feet in height, and canopies are so rare that there are probably not more than a score of any consequence in the whole range of the period. In connection with military brasses, triple canopies occur at Winwick, Lancashire, 1492; Hunstanton, Norfolk, 1506 (cf. p. 45); and Wyvenhoe, Essex, 1507; double canopies at Ashby St. Legers, Northants., 1494; Ardingley, Sussex, 1504; Hillingdon, Middlesex, 1509 (cf. p. 224); Little Wenham, Suffolk, 1514; and Ashbourn, Derbyshire, 1538. The crockets are usually very heavy, and recurved towards the pediment, the soffit of which is often destitute of cusping. The centre of the pediments, at Hillingdon and elsewhere, is occupied by a large rose, and groining is drawn below the soffit, in this instance behind cusps which each terminate in a bunch of three balls.

Where high tombs are used, with stone canopies against

a wall, it becomes a practice to insert mural brasses in the panel at the back. In these the figures are represented as kneeling to desks or faldstools, and children are marshalled behind their parents instead of below them, as in other brasses.

Small quadrangular plates constitute another type of brasses, more or less pictorially engraved, and also mural. They become more and more frequent as the sixteenth century advances, and must not be confounded with brasses of foreign workmanship. An interesting and early example is illustrated by the small plate at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, which commemorates Robert Honywode, LL.D., Archdeacon of Taunton and Canon of St. George's, who died in 1522. Its size is only 24 by 17 inches, and the entire surface is engraved. The Blessed Virgin, crowned and sceptred, is seated upon a throne with the Holy Child in her arms. To her the kneeling canon, supported by his patroness St. Catherine, cries, "*Virgo tuū natū p me p'cor ora beatū.*" The general spirit and treatment of this piece of work should be compared with that of two brasses in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, to two of its sixteenth-century deans, which also belong to this period. The first is to Robert Sutton, 1528, and the second to Geoffrey Fyche, 1537. Both kneel at desks, like Honywode, and both are vested, like him, in surplice and almuce. The plates are pictorial, and in the second there is an altar, with a painted altar-piece of the Blessed Virgin and the dead Christ.

But we must return to the military brasses. At Bosworth Field, and for a few years afterwards, the armour worn included the heavy double pauldrons and large elbow-pieces, the short skirt of taces, with tuilles attached, and sharply-pointed sollerets. In a typical Tudor suit the following changes are to be noticed. The pauldrons are single, and are fitted with high pikeguards to protect the neck from sidelong blows, the left side being the more carefully guarded. Placates and demi-placates are omitted, and the cuirass is frequently brought to a tapul edge in front. The taces are still few and



ROBERT HONYWODE, LL.D., CANON OF WINDSOR, 1522
ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR CASTLE

short, and *tuilles*, smaller than before, are strapped below them. But a regular skirt of chain mail is now added, and reaches halfway down the thighs, beyond the furthest points of the *tuilles*. This is, perhaps, the most characteristic piece of equipment. *Genouillères* have very small plates above and below, but a large back piece. The pointed *sollerets* are exchanged for large *sabbatons* with squared or rounded toes, another distinctive feature. The mail skirt seems to have been a decided improvement, and to have allowed a freer use of the lower limbs. In other respects the Tudor armour appears smoother, rounder, and heavier, less mobile, and less apt for real campaigning than that which preceded it. The handsome flutings and indented margins, the extreme exaggerations of elbow-guards and shoulder-pieces were gone, and with them much of the angulated, defensive mannerisms of the Wars of the Roses; but with them went also much of the grace peculiar to the armour of the third quarter of the fifteenth century. Mr. Starkie Gardner has suggested that, as the following century advanced, the modifications tending to this result may have been in a large degree due to the personal tastes of the three great monarchs of Europe. Maximilian and Henry VIII. preferred at heart the pomp and pageantry to the realities of war; while the classic bias of Francis I. banished all Gothic feeling so far as his personal influence extended. The short-waisted, podgy, globular breast-plate, the stolid limb-pieces, rounded knee-caps, and strikingly splay-footed *sabbatons*, appear as if invented to altogether banish the very idea of agility, if not of movement, and contrast in the strongest manner with the lithe and supple-looking armour of the Beauchamp effigy.

A striking example of the suddenness of the change, as it appears in brasses, may be seen in the church of Houghton Conquest, Beds., where there are two figures of the same personage, separated only by an interval of seven years. The first is in a brass upon an altar tomb in the chancel to "Johēs

Conquest armig' nup dñs de houghton et Ricūs Conquest filius & heres eiusdē Johīs ac Isabella uxor eius," and was laid down at the death of Isabella in 1493.

Staty mortuus quia mouetur.



*Parasit Ricūs Conquest armiger et Elizabeth vxor eius qui quondam Ricūs
obijt x^{to} die mensis Junij Anno dñi millesimo quingentesimo et die Elizabeth obijt
die 8^a Julij . quoniam quibus precetur deus Amen*

RICHARD CONQUEST, ESQ., AND HIS WIFE ELIZABETH, 1500
HOUGHTON CONQUEST, BEDFORDSHIRE

The second (cf. illustration) commemorates "Ricūs Cōquest Armiger et Elizabeth uxor eius," and was placed at Richard's death in 1500. In the one he is in full Yorkist armour, like

that of Sir Thos. Stathum (illustration, p. 193), and of Robert Ingylton (illustration, p. 184) in the other in Tudor.

A few military brasses of the time are given as examples, the earlier in the one style, the later in the other, with many illustrating transitional forms, especially in the evolution of the mail skirt and the sabbatons.

Thannington, Kent, 1485, Thos. Halle, Esq.

Latton, Essex, *c.* 1485, John Bohun, Esq., and wife.

Lullingstone, Kent, 1487, Sir Wm. Pecche.

Strelley, Notts., 1487, Sir Robt. Strelley and wife.

North Mimms, Herts., 1488, Hen. Covert.

Stokesby, Norfolk, 1488, Edm. Clere, Esq., and wife.

West Harling, Norfolk, *c.* 1490, Wm. Berdewell, Esq., and wife.

Chedzoy, Somerset, *c.* 1490, unknown.

Carshalton, Surrey, *c.* 1490, Nich. Gaynesford, Esq., and wife.

Lillingstone Dayrell, Bucks., 1491, Paul Dayrell, Esq., and wife.

Catterick, Yorks., 1492, Wm. Burgh, Esq., and wife.

Houghton Conquest, Beds., 1493, John Conquest, Esq., wife and son.

Kedlestone, Derbs., 1496, Rich. Curzon and wife.

St. Michael Penkevil, Cornwall, 1497, John Trenowyth, Esq.

Floore, Northants., 1498, Thos. Knaresbrught, Esq., and wife.

Merstham, Surrey, 1498, John Newdegate, Esq.

Fairford, Glos., 1500, John Tame, Esq., and wife.

Swansea, Glamorgan, *c.* 1500, Sir Hugh Johnys and wife.

Little Braxted, Essex, 1503, Wm. Roberts, Esq., and two wives.

Blisworth, Northants., 1503, Roger Wake, Esq., and wife.

Ardingley, Sussex, 1504, Rich. Culpepyr, Esq., and wife.

Westminster Abbey, 1505, Sir Humfrey Stanley.

East Grinstead, Sussex, 1505, Sir Thos. Grey and Rich. Lewkener, Esq.

Wootton-Wawen, Warw., 1505, John Harewell, Esq., and wife.

Ashover, Derbs., 1507, Jas. Rolleston and wife.

Wyvenhoe, Essex, 1507, Wm. Viscount Beaumont.

Iver, Bucks., 1508, Rich. Blount, Esq., and wife.

Yealton, Devon, 1508, Sir John Crokker.

The Wyvenhoe brass is probably the finest of all these.

Lord Beaumont's armour throughout is characteristic, very good of its style, and well expressed. His head rests upon his helm with mantling, wreath, and lion crest, and his feet against the Beaumont badge, an elephant with howdah on its back. The badge is also several times repeated upon the border fillet. There is a good triple canopy, and also super-canopy—a quite unusual feature at this period.

Another fine brass, with double canopy, is that at Hillingdon, which must head the second section of Tudor military brasses. It commemorates John, Lord le Strange, lord of Knocking, Mahun, Wasset, Warnell, Lacy, and Colham, and his wife Jagnette, or Jacquetta, sister of Elizabeth Woodville, Queen of England, and was laid down in 1509 by their only daughter Joan, whose very small effigy is inserted between her parents. The canopy is nearly perfect, and it has been already pointed out that a Tudor rose occupies the centre of each pediment—a feature repeated in several other brasses. In most of the military effigies of this period it is usual for there to be either two or four tuilles strapped over the mail skirt. In this instance there are three, one being very awkwardly placed at the centre of the body. The same arrangement is found in a few other examples, as at Fawsley, Northants., to Sir Edmund and Lady Knyghtleye, a brass dated 1557, but more probably engraved much earlier, in *c.* 1495, with signs of of the earlier transition from Yorkist to Tudor.

From this time to the end of the reign of Henry VIII. there is little variation, and the examples are of the one type only—

Hillingdon, Middlesex, 1509, John, Lord le Strange and wife.

Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, London, 1510, John Leventhorp, Esq.

Over, Cheshire, *c.* 1510, Hugh Starky, Esq.

Coughton, Warw., *c.* 1510, Sir Geo. Throkmorton and wife.

Shottesbrooke, Berks., 1511, Rich. Gyll, Esq.

Wrotham, Kent, 1512, Thos. Pekham, Esq., and wife.



JOHN, LORD LE STRANGE, AND HIS WIFE JACQUETTA, 1509
HILLINGDON, MIDDLESEX

- Luton, Beds., 1513, John Ackworth, Esq., and two wives.
 Wybunbury, Cheshire, 1513, Ralf Dellvys and wife.
 Great Chart, Kent, 1513, John Toke, Esq., and two wives.
 Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, 1514, Robt. Rochester, Esq.
 Little Wenham, Suffolk, 1514, Thomas Brewse, Esq., and wife.
 Dauntsey, Wilts., 1514, Sir John Danvers and wife.
 Bromham, Wilts., 1516, John Baynton, Esq.
 Upton, Bucks., 1517, Edw. Bulstrode, Esq., and two wives.
 Ewelme, Oxon., 1518, Thomas Broke, Esq., serjeant-at-arms, and wife.
 Tilty Abbey, Essex, 1520, Gerald Danet, Esq., and wife.
 Cople, Beds., c. 1520, Thomas Gray and wife.
 Heythorpe, Oxon., 1521, John Aschefeld, Esq., and wife.
 Kimpton, Hants., 1522, Robt. Thornburgh, Esq., and two wives.
 Cossington, Somerset, 1524, John Brent, Esq., and wife.
 Alvechurch, Worc., 1524, Philip Chatwyn, gent. usher.
 Great Hampden, Bucks., c. 1525, John Hampden, Esq., and wife.
 Lanteglos-by-Fowey, Cornwall, c. 1525, John Mohun, Esq., and wife.
 Crosthwaite, Cumberland, 1527, Sir John Ratclif and wife.
 Shotesham St. Mary, Norfolk, 1528, Edw. Whyte, Esq., and wife.
 Kinver, Staffs., 1528, Sir Edw. Grey and two wives.
 Boughton Malherbe, Kent, 1529, Sir Edw. Wotton and wife.
 Cobham, Kent, 1529, Sir Thos. Brooke, Lord Cobham, and wife.
 Great Ormesby, Norfolk, 1529, Sir Robt. Clere.
 Liddington, Rutland, 1530, Edw. Watson, Esq., and wife.
 Yetminster, Dorset, 1531, John Horsey, Esq., and wife.
 Broxbourne, Herts., 1531, John Borell, serjeant-at-arms.
 Northill, Beds., 1532, Sir Nich. Harve.
 Compton Verney, Warw., 1536, Rich. Verney, Esq., and wife.
 Hever, Kent, 1538, Sir Thos. Bullen, K.G.
 Taplow, Bucks., 1540, Thos. Manfeld, Esq., and two wives.
 Clovelly, Devon, 1540, Robt. Cary, Esq.
 Tolleshunt Darcy, Essex, 1540, Anth. Darcy, Esq., J.P.
 Addington, Surrey, 1540, Thos. Hatteclyff, Esq.
 Atherington, Devon, c. 1540, Sir Arthur Basset and two wives.
 Harefield, Middlesex, c. 1540, Geo. Assheby, Esq., and wife.
 Charwelton, Northants., 1541, Thos. Andrewes, Esq., and wife.
 Middle Claydon, Bucks., 1542, Roger Gyffard and wife.
 Flitton, Beds., 1545, Harry Gray.

St. Columb Major, Cornwall, 1545, Sir John Arundell and two wives.

Scrivelsby, Lincs., 1545, Sir Robt. Dymoke.

Hackney, Middlesex, 1545, John Lymsey, Esq.

St. Mary's, Lambeth, Surrey, 1545, Thos. Clere, Esq.

All Hallows Barking, London, 1546, William Thinne, Esq., and wife.

A noticeable feature of the inscriptions is that they are often more full than heretofore, and that there are now a considerable number of office-bearers about the court. Sir John Crokker, for instance, was "Ciphorarius ac Signifer" to Edward IV.; John Leventhorp was "Hostiarius" of the Chamber to Henry VII.; Richard Gyll was Squire and Serjeant of the Bakehouse to Henry VII. and Henry VIII.; Robert Rochester was Serjeant of the Pantry to Henry VIII. Such officers of the court are often indicated by a chain hung about the neck. While the inscriptions are most usually placed at the feet of effigies, the marginal inscription is still used, especially upon raised tombs. But the evangelistic symbols begin to be omitted, and personal emblems, or shields of arms, occasionally take their place, as in the brass of Sir Thomas and Lady Brooke, at Cobham.

The ladies are of a type as fixed as that of their husbands. The butterfly head-dress continues and disappears with the Yorkist armour, and is then replaced by the pedimental or kennel headdress, which is worn almost without variation for the rest of the period. It is brought to a stiff point above the forehead, carried back a little way like the roof of a kennel, and has long side lappets of velvet and embroidery. In the earlier examples these are often pinned up, but more usually they fall upon the shoulders. The accompanying dress is close-fitting, with a square collar and turned-back fur cuffs, while a belt or girdle is loosely clasped in front of the body, and has a long pendant, to which is attached a tassel or pomander or other ornament. These matters may be noted in the ladies illustrated on pp. 221, 229, 232. Elizabeth

Conquest and Joan Hatche show the side view of the pedimental head-dress, and Elizabeth Shelley the ornamental lappets at full face. Occasionally, and this again in the earlier examples, the sleeves of the dress are handsomely quilted, and terminate in small frills, and a heavier over-sleeve, lined with fur, is turned back to the elbow. Mantles are not often worn, unless they are heraldically emblazoned, but occur in a few instances. One of the most interesting of these is in a canopied brass at Cobham, 1506, to Sir John Brooke, whose effigy is lost, and Lady Margaret his wife. Quatrefoiled circles in the centres of the two pediments contain small rayed shields, charged with the Instruments of the Passion and the Five Wounds. A square panel bearing a representation of the Holy Trinity is suspended from the central canopy-shaft. Eighteen children appear upon a single plate below and within the very clumsy side shafts, and there are four shields of arms and a marginal inscription in raised letters. Two other ladies have canopies—Anne, widow of Sir David Phelip, at Chenies, Bucks., 1510, lady of the manors of Thorno and Isenhampstead, holding a heart with two scrolls, and Lady Elizth. Scroope, second wife of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and widow of William, Viscount Beaumont, 1537, at Wyvenhoe, Essex, in a coronet and heraldic mantle, with both triple canopy and super-canopy and a mutilated marginal inscription.

A feature of the time, or rather one that begins at this time, is the portrayal of infant children, either separately or with their parents, and wrapped in chrysoms. Babies were brought to the font when only a few days' old. As soon as the baptismal formula had been pronounced and the children baptized, the priest was instructed to place upon them a white robe, and this was called the chrysom, because immediately afterwards they were anointed with oil, the holy chrism, according to the forms prescribed. The robe was worn until the mother came to church for her purification, and then

was returned to the priest, together with her accustomed offerings.

A chrysom child in a brass will therefore properly be one that has died in the interval between its christening and the purification of the mother, and such are now met with, either by themselves or in the arms of their mothers, or amongst other children accompanying or below the parents. The robe is invariably confined in long swaddling bands wound about the body.

Children alone are found, for example, at Rougham, Norfolk, 1510; Stoke d'Abernon, Surrey, 1516; and Chesham Bois, Bucks., *c.* 1520. At Cranbrook, Kent, *c.* 1520, and at Birchington, in the same county, a chrysom child is placed at the side of its father and its mother respectively, and the latter, which is mutilated, is marked with a cross upon the breast. The Stoke d'Abernon baby has one over its forehead. Examples in later periods are found at Pinner, Middlesex, 1580; Aveley, Essex, 1583; Edgeware, Middlesex, 1599; Great Chesterford, Essex, 1600; Upper Deal, Kent, 1606; Lavenham, Suffolk, *c.* 1630; Odiham, Hants., 1636, and elsewhere. Anne Asteley, 1512, at Blickling, Norfolk, holds two chrysom children in her arms, and there are later brasses of the same type, usually of women who died in childbirth.

Heraldic brasses such as that of Lady Scroope, and of men in tabards-of-arms over their body armour, may be said to be another feature of the Tudor period, and certainly not the least interesting. Though they are numerous, they are not so greatly so but that it is possible and useful to give a list which will be nearly complete for the two reigns. The brass at Clapham (*cf.* illustration) may be taken as a typical example. Shelley's armorial bearings are repeated, as always, upon the sleeves of his tabard, as well as emblazoned above his head. The wife is stated to have been daughter and heir of John Michilgrove of Michilgrove, Esq., and of course bears his arms upon her mantle impaled with those of her husband.



JOHN SHELLEY, ESQ., AND HIS WIFE ELIZABETH, 1526
CLAPHAM, SUSSEX

The small object between the upper shields is a representation of the Holy Trinity, but very much worn and defaced.

Tabard brasses and heraldic ladies are found as follows :—

Lambourn, Berks., *c.* 1485, John Estbury, Esq.

Sherborne St. John's, Hants., 1488, Bernard Brocas, Esq., kneeling.

Winwick, Lancs., 1492, Peers Gerard.

Ashby St. Legers, Northants., 1494, Wm. Catisby, Esq., and wife.

Milton-next-Sittingbourne, Kent, 1496, John Norwood, Esq., and wife.

Ketteringham, Norfolk, 1499, Thos. Heveningham, Esq., and wife, kn.

Hathersage, Derbs., *c.* 1500, an Eyre and wife.

Ingrave, Essex, *c.* 1500, John Fitz-Lewis and four wives.

Ormskirk, Lancs., *c.* 1500, Jas. Scarisbrick, Esq.

Ashby St. Legers, Northants., *c.* 1500, a Catesby, kn.

Laycock, Wilts., 1501, Robt. Baynard, Esq., and wife.

Impington, Cambs., 1505, John Burgoyne, Esq., and wife.

Hunstanton, Norfolk, 1506, Sir Roger le Strange.

Aspenden, Herts., 1508, Sir Robt. Clyfford and wife.

Barrowby, Lincs., 1508, Margaret Deene.

Bolton-by-Bolland, Yorks., 1509, Hen. Pudsey, Esq., and wife, kn.

Swinbrook, Oxon., 1510, Anth. Fetyplace, Esq.

Wilne, Derbs., 1513, Hugh Wylloughby, Esq., son and wife.

Shillingford, Devon, 1516, Sir Wm. Huddersfield and wife.

Fawsley, Northants., 1516, Thos. Knyghtley, Esq., and wife.

Tidmarsh, Berks., 1517, Henry Leyneham, Esq.

March, Cambs., 1517, Anth. Hansart and wife, kn.

Eastington, Glos., 1518, Elizth. Knevet.

Ewell, Surrey, 1519, Lady Jane Iwarby, kn.

Merton, Norfolk, 1520, Wm. de Grey, Esq., and two wives.

Roydon, Essex, 1521, John Colt, Esq., and two wives.

Blewbury, Berks., 1523, Sir John Daunce and wife.

Fincham, Essex, 1523, John Berners, Esq., and wife.

Puddletown, Dorset, 1524, Christopher Martyn, Esq., qd. pl.

Kenton, Suffolk, 1524, John Garneys, Esq., and wife, kn., qd. pl.

Wrotham, Kent, 1525, Reynold Pekham, Esq., and wife.

Clapham, Sussex, 1526, John Shelley, Esq., and wife.

Sawbridgeworth, Herts., 1527, Joan Leventhorpe.

Ightham, Kent, 1528, Sir Rich. Clement.

Chesterfield, Derbs., 1529, Sir Godfrey Foljambe and wife.
 Fairford, Glos., 1534, Sir Edm. Tame and two wives.
 Marholm, Northants., 1534, Sir Wm. Fitzwillyams and wife.
 St. Mary's, Lambeth, 1535, Lady Catherine Howard.
 Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, c. 1535, a lady.
 Wyvenhoe, Essex, 1537, Lady Elizth. Scroope.
 Ashbourn, Derbs., 1538, Francis Cockayne and wife.
 Thame, Oxon., 1539, Sir John Clerk.
 Cardington, Beds., c. 1540, Sir Wm. Gascoigne and two wives.
 Stallingborough, Lincs., 1541, Sir Wm. Ayscough and wife.
 Cople, Beds., 1544, Sir Walter Luke and wife.
 Aldbury, Herts., 1546, Sir Ralph Verney and wife.

Of civilians there are more than four hundred, though for the most part they are neither attractive nor interesting. The hair is worn long, and the short gown and bag sleeves give place to a dress which is usually lined and edged with fur and reaches to the feet. Its sleeves are wide, and it is loosely confined at the waist by a girdle, from which commonly hang a *gypcière* or purse, and often a short rosary.

A less frequent type is illustrated in the brass of Henry Hatche. "M'chunt adventurer late of this towne & lybertye of ffaushm̄ Jurat & one of the Barons of the fyve port' whyche was during his lyffe a grate benefactor to this churche," at Faversham, Kent, 1533. His wife is in the pedimental head-dress and corresponding gown.

Inscriptions are generally erratic in spelling, and when poetry is indulged in, it is often strangely crude, considering the general progress of learning. Canterbury, for instance, was a city of no mean importance, and one would have expected its magistrates to be men of light and education. Yet at St. Mary Northgate there is a small rectangular brass of local workmanship to one of its mayors, laid down c. 1540, with the following ridiculous verses:—

" All ye that stand up pon mi corse
 remem bar but lat raff brown I was
 aldur man and mayu' of this cete
 Jhu a pon mi sowll have pete."

However, it must not be supposed that all Tudor epitaphs are of such a character. A collection of them might easily be formed in which there would appear many types, both good and bad, quaint and beautiful. One other specimen must here suffice, taken from a small plate at Ampthill, Beds., *c.* 1520, the only remaining portion of a brass which included a seated figure of the Saviour, with pierced hands uplifted, at the summit of a rainbow-shaped scroll—

“Maker of man o god in Trinite
That hast allone all thing in ordenñice
Fforyeve the trespass of my Juvente
Ne thyke not Lord up on myn ignorance
Fforyeve my soule all my mys-governñice
Bryng me to blisse where thow art eternall
Ever to joye with his aungeles celestiall.”

Scrolls issuing from the mouths or hands of effigies are frequent throughout the whole period, and are usually invocatory. A remarkable instance occurs at Macclesfield, Cheshire, 1506, in the brass of Roger Legh and his family, the wife and daughters being lost. The man's scroll bears the words, “A dampnacoē ppetua librā nos dñe,” and it seems to be addressed to a picture of the Mass of St. Gregory, engraved upon a small oblong plate, in which the pope kneels before an altar, and the figure of the Saviour rises behind a chalice, transformed from the consecrated wafer. The whole story is given in the Golden Legend, and was often depicted in illuminated missals and mural paintings, but this is the only instance where it is now found on a brass. Below the “Mass” is a declaration of pardon, as follows: “The pdon for say|ing of v pater nost’ | & v aues and a cred | is xxvi thousand | yeres and xxvi | dayes of pardon.” This is very curious, and introduces a wide and somewhat obscure subject. Nor is this the only brass in which such pardons are offered, for they are met with in several of the early French inscriptions, as at Cobham, Kent, *c.* 1320; Hellesdon, Norfolk, 1370; and Hurstmonceaux, Sussex, 1402. It appears that these

pardons could be purchased from Rome, an example occurring in the will of William Marquis Berkeley, 1491, who was buried in the church of the Austin Friars in London: "Also I will that my exors shall purchase a pardon from Rome, as large as might be, for plein remission of the sins of all those who shall be confessed and contrite at Longbrigge" (where he ordered a chantry to be founded for the souls of himself and his family), "from evensong to evensong in the feast of the Trinity, and there say pater-nosters and 3 aves for my soul, and the souls aforesaid."

Mention of the "Mass of St. Gregory" reminds us that religious emblems are common right down to the close of the reign of Henry VIII., together with separate figures of saints and scriptural representations, as of the annunciation or resurrection. The Holy Trinity is frequently given, and is, indeed, the most favoured symbol from a much earlier period. It occurs at Peper Harow, Surrey, 1487; Wormley, Herts., *c.* 1490; Sherborne St. John's, Hants., 1492; Shirburn, Oxon., 1493; Witney, Oxon., 1500; Great Tew, Oxon., *c.* 1500; Childrey, Berks., 1507, 1514, and *c.* 1520; Goodnestone, Kent, 1507; Floore, Northants., 1510; Clothall, Herts., 1519; Wooburn, Bucks., *c.* 1520; Clapham, Sussex, 1526; Tiverton, Devon, 1529; Beaumaris, Anglesea, *c.* 1530; Dauntsey, Wilts., *c.* 1535; Cheam, Surrey, 1542; Chacomb, Northants., 1543. In these later Trinities the Father is usually crowned, or triply crowned, and the crucifix between His knees rises from a globe. His hands are raised in benediction, and the holy dove hovers above the Saviour's head.

The Blessed Virgin less often appears. She may be seen at Etwall, Derbyshire, 1512, and Beaumaris, *c.* 1530.

A good example of the annunciation is at Fovant, Wilts., 1492, in a curious memorial to George Rede, rector, who, in a cassock and scarf, kneels upon a chequered pavement, in a small rectangular plate, and supplicates the Blessed Virgin in the following words, inscribed on a scroll: "O blessid Modir

of pete pray to the sone for me." The Virgin, dressed in kirtle, sideless cote-hardi and mantle, with flowing hair and a wreath of roses, kneels at a large desk in the centre of the composition, the pot of lilies standing behind her. The angel, who is also kneeling, wears an alb and mantle, and holds a scroll, "Ave gracia plena dñs tecu." The holy dove in the mean time is flying downwards from a cloud in the corner, and the background is powdered with fleurs-de-lys and roses.

Another good annunciation appears at March, Cambs., 1517, above the kneeling figures of Anthony Hansart and his wife Katherine, in heraldic dresses. Invocatory scrolls bear the words, "Scannta Maria ora pro nobis" and "Sāncta Virgo Virginū ora p nabis." The Blessed Virgin is kneeling on a cushion in front of a large chair, with a prayer-desk and an open book at her side. The angel Gabriel kneels upon the floor opposite, with a sceptre in his left hand. The lily springs from a handled jug between them.

In another representation at Hereford Cathedral, 1524, from a brass to William Porter, S.T.P., warden of New College, Oxford, and Canon of Hereford, the figures occupy the centre of a most inartistic renaissance canopy, with the lily in a large two-handled vase in the middle. The angel stands, holding his sceptre, and exclaiming, on a scroll, "AVE. GRACI. PLENA. DÑS. TECVM," while the Blessed Virgin looks back over her shoulder from her prayer-desk, with the response, "ECCE. ANCILA. DÑI. FIAT. MICI. SCĎM. VERBŪ."

There is a curious little adoration of the shepherds at Cobham, Surrey, *c.* 1500. The resurrection has been noted about ten times, and in two forms, either with or without the guard of soldiers about the tomb. Of the first class there are examples at Swansea, *c.* 1500; Great Cotes, Lincs., 1503; Cranley, Surrey, 1503; All Hallows Barking, *c.* 1510; Hedgerley, Bucks., 1540 (palimpsest); Narburgh, Norfolk 1545; and Slaughtam, Sussex, 1547.

That at Cranley is illustrated, from the brass of Robert



ANNUNCIATION FROM THE BRASS OF WILLIAM PORTER, S.T.P., 1524
HEREFORD CATHEDRAL

Hardyng and his wife, and shows four soldiers with bills and halberds, with a very typical figure of the Saviour. But the Swansea resurrection is probably the finest, and measures 11 by 12 inches. It is part of the brass of "Sir Hugh Johnys and dame Mawde his wife which s^r Hugh was Made knight of the holy sepulchre of oure lord ihū crist in the city of Jerusalem the xiiii day of August the yere of oure lord gode M^t CCCCXLI And the said sir Hugh had cōtynuyd in the



RESURRECTION FROM THE BRASS OF ROBERT HARDYNG, 1503
CRANLEY, SURREY

werris ther long tyme byfore by the space of fyve yer' that is to sey Ageynst the Turkis and sarsyns in the p'tis of troy grece and turky under Johñ y^t tyme Emprowre of Constantynenople." The Saviour steps out of the sepulchre with His left foot, as at Cranley, unclothed, except for the loincloth and a mantle thrown over the back and shoulders. In addition to a nimbus on the head, the background is filled with conventional flames of light radiating from the body. His left hand, again, holds a tall cross, and the cross-marked banner is suspended from it by a cord. Three soldiers are sleeping. A fourth, who wears a rosette on his helmet, is starting up and raising his halberd. The next, seated upright in front, rests his head on his left gauntlet. Yet another

soldier in front is curiously interesting in connection with the account of the knight in the inscription, for he is evidently intended to represent a Saracen. He is recumbent, with a large scimitar at his left side and a spiked mace at his right. All that is seen of the remaining soldier is the head with the face concealed by the right hand; he holds an arrow-headed pike with a ring of spikes beneath it.

In other resurrections the lower part of the Saviour's form is entirely hidden within the tomb, and He rises unclothed, with hands uplifted, and no cross or banner. The best example is at Burwell, Cambs., 1542, and occupies a niche at the summit of a mutilated canopy. Other instances are at Stoke Charity, Hants., 1482, and Stoke Lyne, Oxon., 1535.

APPENDIX (I)

THE EDWARDIAN AND MARIAN TRANSITION

EDWARD VI. 1547-1553

QUEEN MARY, 1553-1558

DURING the few and troubled years of the reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Mary there is a marked decline in the number of brasses laid down. About thirty figure-brasses only are assigned to each reign, or less than six per annum, and it would seem that the art of monumental engraving was coming to an end. There are no signs of the revival which was soon to commence. And yet the few brasses of the period of Transition, if it may be called by that name, are of some moment.

It would be interesting, at least during the Edwardian part of the period, to trace the change in ecclesiastical dress from the historic vestments to the civilian attire of the divines of the Reformation. Unfortunately, though not unnaturally, the clergy are almost entirely unrepresented. Hugh Brystowe, "parson," 1548, at Waddesdon, Bucks., is depicted in a shroud. John White, Warden of Winchester College, and afterwards Bishop of Lincoln and

Winchester, is in a cope ; and so is Thomas Magnus, "parson," and Archdeacon of the East Riding, 1550, at Sessay, Yorks. These are all in the first reign. Queen Mary has two bishops, Goodryke of Ely, 1554 (cf. p. 115), and Bell of Worcester, 1556 (cf. p. 112), the latter at St. James', Clerkenwell, and both in full episcopal vestments, with James Coorthopp, 1557, Dean of Peterborough, in an almuce, at Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford. There is also a canon of Windsor, in 1558, at Magdalen College, viz. Arthur Cole, S.T.B., President of the College, who wears the mantle of the Order of the Garter, and here the brief list closes.

Men in armour are more numerous, and are of much interest, for they plainly exhibit the transition from the Tudor to the Elizabethan style. Examples are found as follows :—

Slaugham, Sussex, 1547, Rich. Covert, Esq., and three wives.
 Blatherwycke, Northants., 1548, Sir Humphrey Stafford and wife.
 Shuckborough Superior, Warw., 1549, Tomas Shukburghe, Esq., and wife.
 Twyford, Bucks., 1550, Thos. Giffard.
 Dinton, Bucks., 1551, Rich. Grenewey, Esq.
 Hitcham, Bucks., 1551, Nich. Clarke, Esq.
 St. Mellion, Cornwall, 1551, Peter Coryton, Esq., and wife.
 Chesham Bois, Bucks., 1552, Robt. Cheyne, Esq.
 Easton Neston, Northants., 1552, Rich. Fermer, Esq., and wife.
 Somerton, Oxon., 1552, Wm. Fermoure, Esq., and wife.
 Great Hampden, Bucks., 1553, Sir John Hampden and two wives.
 Charlwood, Surrey, 1553, Nich. Saunder, Esq., and wife.
 Swallowfield, Berks., 1554, Christopher Lytkott, Esq., and wife.
 Ludford, Hereford, 1554, Wm. Fox, Esq., and wife.
 Cople, Beds., 1556, Robt. Bulkeley, Esq., and wife, qd. pl.
 West Hanney, Berks., 1557, Humfrie Cheynie.
 Fawsley, Northants., 1557, Sir Edm. Knyghtleye and wife.

The mail skirt has usually an indented edge, frills are worn at the wrists, and the skirt of taces is divided at the lower part by an arched opening between the tuilles. Shading is freely employed, and the execution is altogether more feeble than before.

The ladies are variously attired, and the most notable feature in their costume is that the pedimental headdress is now discarded. In its place come the cap and bonnet, which are known as the Paris head, and which are often specially associated with Mary Queen of

Scots, as well as with Mary Tudor, and called by their names. The hair is parted in front, and a close linen cap supports the bonnet, which is often of velvet, and has a jewelled or otherwise ornamental edge, generally of horseshoe shape, and projecting forward at each side of the face. A lappet or kerchief hangs upon the neck and shoulders behind. This head-dress continues throughout the reign of Elizabeth. The collar of the gown is now thrown open at the neck, which is covered by a gathered and sometimes frilled underbodice. The sleeves are puffed and slashed at the shoulders, and a band encircles the waist, from which hangs a long chain with a pomander or other ornament at the end. A long cloak with false sleeves is also worn at this period, open in front, but loosely caught together in its upper half by a few small bows.

Men in armour still wear tabards-of-arms, and ladies heraldic mantles, until the first few years of Elizabeth, after which they entirely disappear. These last it may be well to enumerate, since they bring to a close a series which is of some special interest.

Farringdon, Berks., 1547, Sir Alex. Unton and two wives.

Blewbury, Berks., 1548, John Latton, Esq., and wife.

Little Horkesley, Essex, 1549, Thos. Fyndorne, Esq., John Lord Marnay, and their wife.

British Museum, *c.* 1550, unknown, mutilated.

Beckenham, Kent, 1552, Sir Humfrey Style and two wives.

Chelsea, Middlesex, 1555, Lady Jane Guyldeford.

Etwall, Derbs., 1557, Sir John Porte and two wives.

Burton, Sussex, 1558, Elizth. Gorynge, in a tabard.

Hathersage, Derbs., *c.* 1560, Sir Arthur Eyre and wife.

Loddon, Norfolk, 1561, Henry Hobart, Esq.

Melbury Sampford, Dorset, 1562, Sir Gyles Strangways.

Strensham, Worc., 1562, Sir John Russell and wife.

Milton Abbey, Dorset, 1565, Sir John Tregonwell.

Most of the late tabard brasses are small and poorly engraved. At Beckenham, for instance, the mural figure of "The Ryght Woorshyppfull Syr Humfrey Style Knyght" is but $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. He is represented kneeling upon a tasselled cushion set on a pavement, and facing his two 12-inch wives, whose arms, of Bauldry and of Perrin respectively, are impaled with those of Style upon their mantles. In order to avoid mistake, the arms are repeated upon large shields above each of the figures, and

the black-letter inscription runs at full length beneath. As in so many of the brasses of London and its neighbourhood, the final clause, "Of whose sowles & all Chrysten Jesu have m'cy," has been partially obliterated in order to save the memorial from puritanical fury, though its wording can still be deciphered with a little care.



SIR HUMFREY STYLE, 1552
BECKENHAM, KENT

It may here be asserted that the Transition Period is essentially one and not two, and that the brasses show no general distinction between Edwardian and Marian. It is possible that the mural brass of Edward Shelley, Esq., at Warminghurst, Sussex, 1554, provides a fairly typical instance of the attitude of mind of a not inconsiderable proportion of the people of England, in spite of the violence of religious feeling. Shelley was one of the four Masters of the

Household to Henry VIII., then to Edward VI., and continued in his office without change under Queen Mary. Had he lived a few years longer, he would probably have been just as happy with Queen Elizabeth. The brass commemorates himself, his wife, and their ten children.

APPENDIX (2)

MERCHANT COMPANIES AND THEIR ARMS

THERE are many brasses of the Tudor Period and later which display the arms of the merchant and trading companies of England. Usually such arms are placed upon single shields at the corners of a slab in the ordinary way, or introduced into the composition of quadrangular plates. Often, too, they are brought into connection with merchants' marks, which are placed upon separate shields, or even in the same, as at St. John Maddermarket, Norwich. They are also frequently combined with the corporate arms of towns and cities.

Those which are most often met with are the arms of the Merchant Adventurers or Hamburgh Merchants, incorporated 24 Edw. I., 1296. They are not, however, found on brasses until the sixteenth century. The arms are these: *Barry nebulée of six, argent and azure, a chief quarterly gules and or, on the 1st and 4th quarters a lion passant gardant or, on the 2nd and 3rd two roses gules barbed vert.* For an illustration, see the brass of Thomas Pownder, at Ipswich, p. 96. Merchant Adventurers were usually members of a particular trade company as well, and of these the Mercers are the most in evidence. They were incorporated 17 Rich. II., 1394, and bore *Gules, a demi-virgin couped below the shoulders, her hair dishevelled, vested and crowned or, wreathed above the brows with roses and issuing from an orle of clouds proper.* The two coats are constantly found together. Thus the well-known bracket brass to John Terri and his family at St. John Maddermarket, 1524, exhibits first, between the figures, the arms of Norwich, *Gules, a castle triple-towered argent, in base a lion of England*; and below, an

escutcheon composed of the initials and merchants' mark of John Terri, with the arms in chief, first of the Merchant Adventurers, and second of the Mercers Co. John Marsham, 1525, in the same church, had a somewhat similar escutcheon, of which only the dexter half remains, bearing his initials and mark, and the Merchant Adventurers in chief. At St. Andrew's, Norwich, the inscription which alone remains to John Clark, alderman and mayor, 1527, had three shields attached below, (1) initials and mark, (2) Merchant Adventurers, (3) Mercers. Again, at St. John Maddermarket, in 1558, Robert Rugge, alderman and mayor, has four escutcheons at



ARMS OF THE MERCERS COMPANY, 1516
ST. OLAVE'S, HART STREET, LONDON

the corners of the slab, the first bearing his shield, with helm, crest and mantling; the second his arms, *a chevron engrailed between 3 mullets*; the third his mark, and the fourth the Mercers' arms. At Antingham, Norfolk, another combination of four shields appears in a brass to Richard Calthorp, Esq., and family, 1562; the first the Merchant Adventurers, the second Calthorp impaling Hastings quartering Foliot, the third Calthorp, and the fourth the Mercers; the brass was laid down by Anthony Calthorp, Mercer, to the memory of his parents. Amongst a number of other Mercers' brasses, the following include the arms of the company: John Lambarde, Alderman of London, Hinxworth, Herts., 1487; Thos. Hoore and wife, Digswell, Herts., 1495; Wm. Thorpe and wife, Higham

Ferrers, Northants., 1504; Alice Baldry, St. Mary Tower, Ipswich, 1506 (the Mercers' arms impaling the mark of Thomas Baldry); unidentified brasses at St. Olave's, Hart Street, 1516, and Hillingdon, Middlesex, *c.* 1570; Robert Barfott and wife, Lambourne, Essex, 1546, with initials and mark; and Clement Newce and wife, Great Hadham, Herts., 1582.

The Goldsmiths were incorporated in 1327, and bore *Gules, a leopard's head or, quartered with azure, a covered cup between 2 buckles of the second.* These may be seen at Sandon, Essex, *c.* 1510; Thorpe, Surrey, 1583; Datchet, Bucks., 1593; Ufford, Suffolk, 1598, and elsewhere. The last mentioned is at the top of a quadrangular plate which bears a skeleton, nine verses, and an inscription to Richard Ballett, describing him as "first goldsmith of the Balletts in London."

The Skinners were incorporated in the same year, and had *ermine on a chief gules, 3 princes crowns composed of crosses pattée and fleur-de-lys or, with caps of the first tasselled of the third.* They appear on the brass of Wm. Shosmyth, citizen and "pelliparius" of London, and his wife, 1479, at Mereworth, Kent.

The Grocers, incorporated in 1346, had arms granted them only in 1531, *Argent, a chevron gules between 3 cloves sable.* Thus, Myghell Fox, citizen and grocer, of London, at Chacomb, Northants., whose brass was engraved early in the century, has his mark and monogram, and the arms of the City of London and of the Merchant Adventurers, but not those of the Grocers. They have not indeed been noted until a century later, at Finchley, Middlesex, 1610, and North Walsham, Norfolk, 1625.

The Drapers come next, founded in 1332, incorporated 1364, and with arms granted in 1439—*Azure, 3 clouds proper radiated in base, each surmounted with a triple crown or.* They are found in the brass of Sir George Monox, Lord Mayor of London, and his wife, 1543, at Walthamstow, Essex, and also with the Merchant Adventurers, at Stone, Kent, 1574, to Robert Chapman. The inscription here is a curious John-Gilpin-like jingle, and introduces the names of the companies:—

Loe here he Lyeth That earst did Lyve, and Robert Chapman highte
To prove, by gods eternall dome that deathe wyll have his right
Owner of Stone Castell true what tyme he Lyvved was he
Esquier, and Marchaunte venturer, of London Draper ffree

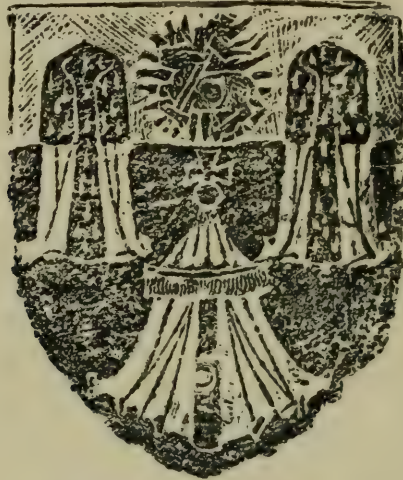
His soule, wee hoope in Heaven dothe reste, thoughe Carcas Lye full Loe
Thus god appoints the righteouse Manne ; a fynall ende of woe
Whose monumente alofte dothe Stande, for every Man to viewe
Whereby Wee Learne, what brittle Steppes all Mortall men ensue.

The Haberdashers Company obtained a charter in 1447. The arms granted them in 1571 were *Barry nebulée of six, argent and azure, on a bend gules a lion passant gardant or*. They appear at Faversham, Kent, c. 1580, where there is an interesting series of merchant brasses, with marks, and the arms of the Cinque Ports, the City of London, and the Merchant Adventurers. They begin with Seman Tong, Baron of the Cinque Ports, 1414, much mutilated, under a canopy. Next comes Henry Hatche, Merchant Adventurer, with his wife, 1533, under a double canopy with large roses in the pediments (cf. illustration, p. 232). Then Richard Colwell, Mayor of Faversham, and two wives, also of the year 1533; the places of evangelistic symbols at the corners of a mutilated marginal inscription are here occupied by the device of a well, round which is inscribed RIC H ARD COL. Another merchant, c. 1580, with mark and initials S N B has lost his inscription, and the list is closed by John Haywarde, mayor, 1610.

South Mimms, Middlesex, has also a shield of the Haberdashers Company, and another, a short time ago loose in the church, with arms of the East Land Company. This Company was incorporated temp. Elizth. and bore the following arms: *Or, on the sea in base a ship with 3 masts in full sail, all proper; pennants and ensigns argent, charged with a cross gules; on a chief of the last a lion passant gardant of the first*.

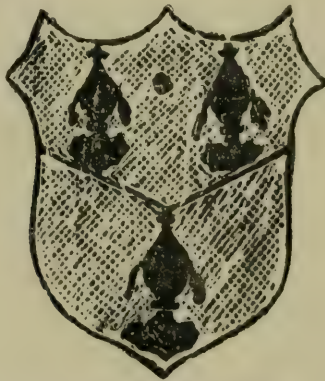
The Merchant Tailors were twice incorporated, in 1466, and again in 1503, and received two different grants of arms, in 1480, and in 1586. In the original grant, made by Thomas Holme, Clarencieux, they bore *Argent, a royal tent between 2 parliament robes gules lined ermine, the tent garnished or, tent-staff and pennon of the last; on a chief azure a Holy Lamb set within a sun, or*. These arms form part of the remains of the brass of Hugh Pemberton, 1500, removed from the destroyed church of St. Martin Outwich to Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate. In a second grant made by Robert Cooke, Clarencieux, a golden lion was substituted for the Holy Lamb. It appears at St. Catherine's, Regent's Park, four times in

the brass of Robert Coulthirst, 1631, at Kirkleatham, Yorks., and again four times within a border fillet in the brass of Richard Fynche, 1640, at Dunstable, Beds.



ORIGINAL ARMS OF THE MERCHANT TAILORS COMPANY, 1500
GREAT ST. HELEN'S, BISHOPSGATE, LONDON

The Salters, chartered in 1364, were incorporated in 1530, when they had these arms granted to them, *Per chevron azure and gules, 3 sprinkling-salts argent*. They occur in the well-known Flemish



ARMS OF THE SALTERS COMPANY, c. 1535
ALL HALLOWS BARKING, LONDON

brass of Andrew Evyngar, c. 1535, at All Hallows Barking, in company with his mark, and the arms of the Merchant Adventurers. In the similar brass of Thos. Pownder, at St. Mary Quay, Ipswich,

1525 (cf. illustration, p. 96), the town of Ipswich and the Merchant Adventurers are arranged in the same way on either side of a mark.

The Fishmongers were a very ancient body, consisting of two companies, the Stock and the Salt Fishmongers. The arms of the former were *Azure, 2 lucies in saltire argent, with coronets over their mouths or*; those of the latter, *Azure, on a chief gules 3 pairs of keys, indorsed in saltire or*. They occur at Wooburn, Bucks., c. 1520, and at Ely Cathedral, in the memorial of Robert Wagstave, 1616, where the two coats seem to be combined, with curious variations.

The Ironmongers bore *Argent, on a chevron gules 3 swivels or, between 3 steel gads azure*. They occur on the brass of John Carre, citizen and Merchant Adventurer and his two wives, 1570, at Stondon Massey, Essex, together with the arms of the City of London and the Merchant Adventurers, and his own Merchant's Mark.

There are in all twelve principal companies, the remaining two being the Vintners and the Clothworkers. The arms of neither of these have been noticed on brasses, but they may be given in order to complete the series.

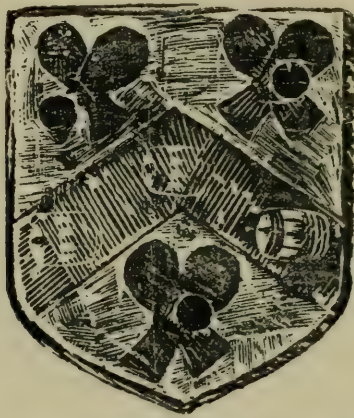
The Vintners, *Sable, a chevron between 3 tuns argent*.

The Clothworkers, *Sable, a chevron ermine between 2 habicks in chief argent, and a tezel in base slipped or*.

The arms of other companies are occasionally found, as those of the Stationers in the brass of John Daye, printer, and wife, 1584, at Little Bradley, Suffolk, of the Brewers, in 1592, at All Hallows Barking, and of the Carpenters, in 1619, at Horsell, Surrey.

The Brewers' arms are *Gules, on a chevron argent between 3 pairs of barley garbs in saltire or, 3 tuns sable, hooped or*. The Stationers are much more elaborate, and at the same time less scientific, viz. *Azure, on a chevron or, between 3 bibles lying fessways gules, garnished leaved and clasped of the second, the clasps downwards; an eagle rising proper enclosed by 2 roses gules, seeded or, barbed vert; from the top of the chief a demi-circle of glory edged with clouds proper; therein a dove displayed argent, over the head a circle of the last*. The Carpenters' arms form part of the brass of Thos. Edmonds, "citizen and carpenter to the chamber and one of the four vewers of the City of London," and his wife Ann;—*argent, a chevron between 3 pairs of compasses expanded at the points sable*. The chevron is sometimes engrailed, but not so at Horsell. The arms are here associated with those of the City of London.

It is to be noted in conclusion that slight errors are often made in the engraving of arms. Thus, in the shields illustrated above, the Salters' "Per chevron" is drawn reversed, and the tent royal of the



ARMS OF THE BREWERS COMPANY, 1592
ALL HALLOWS BARKING, LONDON

Merchant Tailors is surmounted by a cross patée instead of a pennon. In the arms of the Staple of Calais on p. 170, it has already been pointed out that the lion in chief ought to be gardant, but is not.

CHAPTER X .

SPOILIATION OF THE MONASTERIES—PALIMPSEST BRASSES

THERE are several historical facts and dates which require to be noted and remembered if we would fully understand the meaning of those brasses which are called Palimpsests. Palimpsests are brasses which have been twice used, old memorials being converted to fresh use, either by utilizing the back for a new engraving, or by alterations, additions, or simple appropriation. The name was first suggested by the late Mr. Albert Way in the *Archæological Journal*, and is taken from that of a class of ancient manuscripts from which the first writing has been erased, in order to give place to other. As applied to brasses it is not strictly accurate, and from time to time other words have been proposed. But it is nevertheless convenient, and in common use, and will be retained here.

The possibility of the existence of palimpsests has come about in various ways, for although a brass is the least destructible of all monuments, yet it may still be wantonly broken or stolen by sacrilegious hands.

In the year 1523, at the instance of Cardinal Wolsey, and for the purpose of endowing his colleges at Oxford and Ipswich, two bulls were granted by the pope for the suppression of certain alien priories and small monasteries to the number of forty. Wolsey's agent, Dr. Allen, was accused of precisely the same sort of treatment of the monks as was afterwards

laid to the charge of Thomas Cromwell's commissioners. Other religious houses followed. Then came the general Royal Visitation, beginning October 1535, and ending towards the close of 1538. The commissioners, Leighton, Leigh, London, Ap-Rice, and Thornton, were utterly unscrupulous, and an enormous amount of unauthorized robbery took place at once. A bill of indictment against the monks, known to writers of a later generation by the name of the Black Book, was laid before Parliament. The history of the session is obscure, and it is uncertain whether any special documents other than the miscellaneous and lying reports of the commissioners were brought forward. Whatever were the means employed, the matter resulted in an Act of Suppression, passed February, 1536. By this Act all houses of monks, canons, and nuns under the clear yearly value of £200 were "given to the King's highness, his heirs and executors, for ever." The churches were pulled down, and their materials and contents sold, stolen, or destroyed, three hundred and seventy-six houses being involved in this first great sweep.

It was in this year that the Brethren of the Charterhouse were condemned for refusing to acknowledge the king's supremacy. Three went to the gallows; the rest were flung into Newgate, chained to posts in a noisome dungeon, and left to perish with gaol-fever and starvation.

Then came the Pilgrimage of Grace, after which twelve abbots were hung, drawn, and quartered for alleged complicity in rebellion, and in the summer of 1537 the visitors started afresh to visit the remaining larger monasteries. Forced resignation of abbey went on apace during 1537 and 1538, so that by the end of that year very few were left. At the same time, in 1538, orders were given to fling all relics from their reliquaries, and to level every shrine with the ground. In 1539 was passed the second Act of Dissolution, which completed the ruin of the monasteries.

A few of the most beautiful abbey churches were either

saved by private munificence, or by the king's grant, to serve as parish churches, but the vast majority were completely destroyed. And in the general wreck of monastic property thousands of brasses found their way to the melting-pot, or to the metal-workers' shops.

In the autumn session of 1545, the king's necessities being pressing, an Act was passed to confer upon him the property of all colleges, free chapels, chantries, hospitals, fraternities and guilds, to be sold or alienated for the king's use. His death shortly afterwards prevented the immediate carrying out of this his last attempt at wholesale robbery. Nevertheless, the Act was renewed in the same year, upon the accession of Edward VI., and resulted in the suppression of more than two thousand chantries and chapels, and one hundred and ten hospitals. A commission was appointed on each occasion by the Crown, and it is interesting to note that an Elizabethan brass exists at Tisbury, Wilts., in memory of one of the commissioners, Laurence Hyde, Esq., 1590. This man, coming originally from Cheshire, was the first occupier, under Sir Thomas Arundell, of the manor of West Hacche, a piece of church property taken from the monastery of St. Edward at Shaftesbury. The brass has a mutilated marginal inscription, and a rectangular plate which depicts Hyde, in a ruff and long civilian's gown, standing with clasped hands in front of a Doric arcade pierced with four windows, and accompanied by his wife and ten children. There are no religious emblems of any kind, but with his crest is a motto which is remarkably significant of the destruction of the hopes of all those who in past times had founded chantries "for ever" for the good of their souls. It runs, "Everye man lyving in his beste estate is alltogethir vanitie."

It is not to be supposed that even parish churches could escape the spoiling of their goods. On March 3, 1551, it was ordered by the Privy Council "that for as muche as the Kinge's Majestie had neede presently of a masse of mooney,

therefore Commissions shulde be addressed into all shires of Englande to take unto the Kinge's handes suche church plate as remaigneth, to be employed unto his highnes use." It is unnecessary to go further. Brasses also were valuable, and so were often the objects of royal theft or private greed, and vast numbers must have disappeared at this time.

Fragments of some of them are found on the reverse side of many later brasses laid down after those dates, for the loot was frequently used instead of new sheets of metal.

With them, too, are found fragments of foreign brasses, imported apparently from the Netherlands after the sack of the churches there by the Calvinists in 1566. For this is another date to be remembered, when, as Motley observes, for the space of only six or seven summer days and nights, there raged a storm by which all the treasures of the past were destroyed. Nearly every church was rifled of its contents, and hardly a province or town escaped. Many engraved brass plates must afterwards have found their way to England, and have been converted into Elizabethan brasses, although they would not seem to have been very urgently needed, when there was so much English monastic spoil already in the workshops.

There was much destruction in France during the same time, from 1562 to 1570, during the first three Religious Wars, and a large proportion of the French churches were then completely sacked by the Calvinists. But the brasses were few, and none of them have with certainty been found in England. About two hundred palimpsest brasses are known, including inscriptions, and have been carefully and fully described by Mr. Mill Stephenson in the *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, vol. iv., 1900-1903. His notes, it should be said, are freely quoted in the following pages, and are remarkable for their fulness and accuracy. Nearly half the palimpsests were probably spoil from monasteries and chantries, and bear dates later than the dissolution. About fifty more are cut from

foreign brasses, chiefly Flemish and Dutch, and are nearly all later than the year of the sack of the Netherland churches. The remainder have to be accounted for in other ways. Not all, however, can now be examined upon both sides, and in most instances it is only by chance that their palimpsest character has become known at all. For as long as a brass remains undisturbed, it can bear only the evidence upon its face. It is by accidentally becoming loose, or by being forcibly taken from their matrices, that palimpsests are discovered, and there are doubtless many which have never been moved. Wherever a superiority of material is noticed in later brasses, in thickness and quality, there will, however, be a probability of re-use, since Elizabethan metal is usually thin and poor. Very frequently, again, a palimpsest brass has been found and its reverse side put on record, and then it has been reset, and becomes again immovable. In other examples such brasses have been framed and hinged, or fastened down with movable screws, upon a plan adopted a few years ago by the Oxford University Brass-Rubbing Society.

The loot from destroyed churches was probably sold to the metal-workers, and was by them issued in the form of new brasses. It is therefore impossible to identify the places from which such brasses originally came, except in rare instances, such as those now to be given.

At Denchworth, in Berks., there is an inscription below the figures of William Hyde, Esq., in armour, and his wife, 1562. This is palimpsest, and its reverse shows another inscription of great historic value, and, fortunately, complete. It is in French, and records the laying of a foundation-stone of Bisham Priory by Edward III.—

“Edward Roy Danglet'e qe fist le siege deuant la Cite de Be|rewyk & cōquyst la bataille illeoqs & la dite Cite la veille sein|te Margarete lan de g^rce. M.CCC.XXXIII. mist cestre pere a la | requeste Sire William de Mountagu foundour de cestre mesoun.”

The capitulation of Berwick took place on St. Margaret's Day, 1333, and Sir William de Montagu was one of the signatories to the treaty of surrender. The foundation charter of the priory of Bisham is dated April 10, 1336.

Again, at St. Laurence, Reading, the entire brass of Walter Barton, gent., 1538, is made up of portions of the brass of Sir John Popham, who died in 1463, and was buried, according to Stowe's *Survey of London*, in the London Charterhouse.

At Hedgerley, Bucks., there is a brass with the effigy of Margaret Bulstrode, 1540, a foot inscription, a mutilated shield, and a group of children, all of which are palimpsest, and seem to be made up of spoil from the great abbey at Bury St. Edmund's. The figure of the lady is cut out of an inscription in English verse, which is only partly legible; and on the back of her own inscription is another to Thomas Totyngton, Abbot of Bury, who died in 1312—

“Totyngton Thomas Edmūdi qⁱ fuit abbas
Hic iacet esto pia sibi duct'r u'go maria.”

The children are cut out of the lower portion of the figure of a bishop or abbot, *c.* 1530, showing the chasuble, staff of the crozier with vexillum, and dalmatic. On the reverse of the shield are portions of canopy-work, with a representation of the resurrection, and a small fragment of the figure of some saint.

A further good example may be described at Norbury, Derbyshire, where portions of the brass to Sir Anthony Fitzherbert and wife, 1538, appear to have come from a brass of the De Verdun family, who were buried in Croxden Abbey, about five miles away, in Staffordshire. The remaining parts, all of which are palimpsest, consist of Sir Anthony, in judicial robes (*cf.* p. 178), mutilated and headless, his wife in a heraldic mantle, a Latin inscription in two pieces, eight lines upon the first and six upon the second, a shield of arms, one plate of

children, viz. the daughters, and three small fragments of a marginal inscription. The reverses of the judge and his wife, excluding her head, join together and make up the greater part of the figure of a lady, *c.* 1320, of the same type as that of Lady Creke (*cf.* p. 24), with a lion at her feet. Lady Fitzherbert's head, the shield, the children, and the pieces of fillet are all from parts of the canopy and border of the same brass, which has with good reason been ascribed to Dame Matilda, wife of Theobald de Verdun, lord of Alton, who died in 1312, and was buried in the south transept of Croxden Abbey. This abbey was dissolved in 1538, and the greater part of the plunder became the property of William Basset, who had married the judge's daughter Elizabeth. The two remaining plates, on which are inscribed the Latin verses, belong to a much later memorial, but are probably spoil from the same abbey. The larger bears the central portion of a figure in monastic habit, apparently part of a prior, to whom reference is made in some much-mutilated hexameters on the reverse of the smaller plate, the date being *c.* 1440. All these palimpsests are now fixed down; but the late Sir Wollaston Franks had careful electro-types made and fastened to a stout board, which hangs upon the vestry wall.

The Rugge brass, at St. John Maddermarket, Norwich, 1558 (*cf.* p. 131), is probably made up of spoil from the great abbey of St. Benet Hulme, and is cut from parts of the fine effigy of an abbot holding a clasped book.

Again, at Denham, Bucks, the reverses of Amphillis Peckham, 1545, exhibit the almost complete figure of a friar, together with an inscription to John Pyke, seemingly a school-master, since his shield bears the device of a birch-rod. The brass a few years ago was loose, in the custody of the Rector of Denham.

At Shipton-under-Wychwood, Oxon., a plate bearing figure and inscription to Elizabeth Horne, 1548, doubtless came from some church in Aylesbury, since it records on its

reverse the endowment of a chantry in that town. The inscription is of great length and interest, and is fortunately open to inspection, since the brass has been mounted in a hinged oak frame and placed on the wall of the north aisle.

Chantry spoil may also be definitely instanced at Dummer, Hants., where the following inscription is engraved on the reverse of one to Alice Magewik, 1591 :—

“ Hic iacet dñs Robertus Clerk quōda(m)
Capellanus Cantaris petri ffabiller i(n)
p' senti ecclīa fundat' cui' aīe ppiciet' de' A(men).”

The date of this is *c.* 1500, and it also is hinged and fastened to the church wall.

Other interesting palimpsests of the same type occur at—

Taplow, Bucks., 1540 (Manfelde). *Reverses*, eight pieces, *c.* 1470 and *c.* 1490.

Halvergate, Norfolk, 1540 (Swane). *Reverse*, bust of friar, *c.* 1440.

Tolleshunt Darcy, Essex, *c.* 1540 (a lady). *Rev.*, part of abbot, *c.* 1400.

Upminster, Essex, *c.* 1540 (a civilian). *Rev.*, part of abbot, *c.* 1410.

Odiham, Hants., *c.* 1540 (man in armour). *Rev.*, three pieces, *c.* 1460.

Cheam, Surrey, 1542 (Fromondes). *Rev.*, seven pieces, 1500–1520.

Holy Trinity, Chester, 1545 (Gee). *Rev.*, part of a Garter knight, *c.* 1525.

Cuxton, Kent, *c.* 1545 (Buthyll). *Rev.*, part of canopy, *c.* 1480.

All Hallows Barking, London, 1546 (Thynne). *Rev.*, six pieces, 1510–1530.

Braunton, Devon, 1548 (Chechester). *Rev.*, two pieces, *c.* 1372.

Winchester College, 1548 (White). *Rev.*, part of a widow, *c.* 1440.

Manchester Cathedral, 1548 (Ordsall). *Rev.*, a lady, *c.* 1450.

Sessay, Yorks., 1550 (Magnus). *Rev.*, seven pieces, *c.* 1450.

Cobham, Surrey, *c.* 1550 (man in armour). *Rev.*, a priest, *c.* 1510.

Narburgh, Norfolk, 1556 (Goldyngham). *Rev.*, part of a priest, *c.* 1470.

Binfield, Berks., 1558 (Turner). *Rev.*, part of abbot, *c.* 1420.

SPOLIATION OF THE MONASTERIES 257

Northolt, Middlesex, 1560 (Gyfforde). *Rev.*, nine pieces, 1480–1500.

Fryerning, Essex *c.* 1560 (lady). *Rev.*, part of a widow, *c.* 1460.

Merton, Norfolk 1562 (Grey). *Rev.*, feet of man in armour, *c.* 1390.

Morland, Westmoreland, 1562 (Blythe). *Rev.*, two men in armour, *c.* 1520.

Felmingham, Norfolk, 1591 (Moone). *Rev.*, part of a priest, *c.* 1450.

Howden, Yorks., 1621 (Dolman). *Rev.*, part of civilian, *c.* 1520.

Palimpsests which are made from Flemish or German brasses are of special interest, and open up an attractive course of study. Far more fragments of such brasses exist in England than there are now brasses in the whole of the Low Countries. Not all, however, are from the sack of the Netherland churches, for there are a few where the English obverse is of too early a date, and these can be accounted for only on the supposition that a certain quantity of "shop waste," or spoilt plate, was imported into England before the general destruction of brasses began.

Of this type is an inscription at Great Bowden, Leics., 1403, to Wm. Wolstonton, rector, which bears on the reverse a very pleasing figure of a civilian under a canopy, *c.* 1350, of the same description as the foreign brass at Aveley, Essex (cf. p. 94), and similar also to a small brass preserved in the Archæological Museum at Ghent.

At Sall, Norfolk, loose in the church chest, there is a mutilated inscription, *c.* 1480, cut from a fine foreign brass, *c.* 1400, and exhibiting part of the head of a lady with braided hair, and the diaper-work of a cushion, on which her head rested. Ewelme, Oxon., also has an inscription of the date 1494 to Henry Lee and wife, the reverse of which is a piece of good foreign canopy-work, *c.* 1360, apparently of the German type. It includes the small figure of an angel playing on a musical instrument, part of a crocketed arch, and the corner of a head-cushion, as at King's Lynn and Lubeck.

Early palimpsests are also found at Horncastle, Lincs., where portions of the brass to Sir Lionel Dymoke, 1519, are composed of foreign fragments ; at Southacre, Norfolk, where the remains of the brass to Sir Roger Harsyk and wife, 1454, include a piece of a foreign marginal inscription ; and in the British Museum, in a fragment from Trunch, Norfolk, 1473. The reverse of the brass at Topcliffe, Yorks., dated 1391 (cf. p. 94), is said to be entirely covered with earlier work ; and at Tolleshunt Darcy, Essex, is preserved a portion of the border of another foreign brass, of the late fourteenth century, the two sides of which differ but slightly in design and date. As throughout this section, the chief authority is Mr. Stephenson. He has figured many examples, and gives the following of later date :—

- Tolleshunt Darcy, Essex, 1540 (Darcy). *Rev.*, inscription, 1362.
 Winestead, Yorks., c. 1540 (Hildyard). *Rev.*, fragment of civilian, c. 1360.
 Isleworth, Middlesex, 1544 (Chase). *Rev.*, saint in niche, c. 1360.
 Upminster, Essex, 1545 (Wayte). *Rev.*, fragments of abbot, c. 1480.
 Aylesford, Kent, 1545 (Savell). *Rev.*, canopy, possibly French, c. 1530.
 Hackney, Middlesex, 1545 (Lymsey). *Rev.* of shields, pieces of background, c. 1530.
 Bayford, Herts., c. 1545 (Knighton). *Rev.*, fragments of abbot, c. 1480.
 Ossington, Notts., 1551 (Peckham). *Rev.*, fragment of a lady, c. 1360, and other pieces.
 Hadleigh, Suffolk, c. 1560 (Taillor). *Rev.*, civilian and angel on background, c. 1500.
 Pottesgrove, Beds., 1563 (Saunders). *Rev.*, canopy-work, c. 1370.
 Westerham, Kent, 1563 (Potter). *Rev.*, column and shield, c. 1530.
 St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, 1568 (Rede). *Rev.*, civilian and background, c. 1500.
 West Lavington, Wilts., c. 1570 (Dautesay). *Rev.*, Dutch inscription, 1518.
 Wardour Castle, Wilts., 1573 (Arundell). *Rev.*, portions of words.

SPOLIATION OF THE MONASTERIES 259

- Stondon Massey, Essex, 1573 (Holingworth). *Rev.*, four pieces of canopy-work, *c.* 1390 and *c.* 1510.
- Haseley, Warw., 1573 (Throkmorton). *Rev.*, canopy-work, *c.* 1390.
- Constantine, Cornwall, 1574 (Gerveys). *Rev.*, man in armour, and background, *c.* 1375.
- Erith, Kent, 1574 (Harman). *Rev.*, border, *c.* 1500.
- Harrow, Middlesex, 1574 (Frankishe). *Rev.*, border and lady, *c.* 1360 and *c.* 1370.
- St. Mary Magdalen, Oxford, 1574 (Fitzherbert). *Rev.*, part of Dutch inscription, *c.* 1520.
- St. Peter-in-the-East, Oxford, 1574 (Atkinson). *Rev.*, canopy, sixteenth century.
- Denham, Suffolk, 1574 (Bedingfield). *Rev.*, feet and robes, *c.* 1500.
- Isleworth, Middlesex, 1575 (Holland). *Rev.*, border and foliage, *c.* 1500.
- British Museum, from Wimbish, Essex, *c.* 1575 (fragment). *Rev.*, marginal inscription, *c.* 1420.
- Cookham, Berks., 1577 (More). *Rev.*, head, background, and inscription, *c.* 1380 and *c.* 1480.
- Wardour Castle, Wilts., *c.* 1577 and 1578 (Arundell). *Revs.*, part of saint, and robe, and canopy, 1374.
- Kings Langley, Herts., 1578 (Cheyne). *Rev.*, head of lady, *c.* 1370, and border, *c.* 1420.
- Cley, Norfolk, 1578 (Tayllar). *Rev.*, base of shaft, with feet, *c.* 1500.
- Wonersh, Surrey, 1578 (Bosseville). *Rev.*, border, *c.* 1540.
- Yealmpton, Devon, 1580 (Copleston). *Rev.*, head, background, and saints, *c.* 1460.
- Pinner, Middlesex, 1580 (Bedingfeld). *Rev.*, inscription, *c.* 1500.
- Orford, Suffolk, 1580 (Coo). *Rev.*, two pieces of border, *c.* 1420.
- Norton Disney, Lincs., *c.* 1580 (Disney). *Rev.*, Dutch inscription, 1518.
- Paston, Norfolk, *c.* 1580 (Paston). *Rev.*, shields, inscription, and background, *c.* 1480.
- Halesworth, Suffolk, 1581 (Browne). *Rev.*, border and robes, *c.* 1510.
- St. Margaret, Lee, Kent, 1582 (Annesley). *Rev.*, border.
- Margate, Kent, 1582 (Flitt). *Rev.*, border, *c.* 1400.
- Holme-next-the-Sea, Norfolk, 1582 (Strickland). *Rev.*, canopy and border, *c.* 1400.

Camberwell, Surrey, 1582 (Dove). *Rev.*, border and ground, *c.* 1500.
Walkern, Herts., 1583 (Humbarstone). *Rev.*, eleven pieces, various
dates.

Aveley, Essex, 1584 (Barett). *Rev.*, marginal inscription, *c.* 1420.
Wardour Castle, 1586 (Arundell—a rose). *Rev.*, a face.

The reverses are of varying dates, and comprise fragments of figures, inscriptions, and much canopy-work. Sometimes, too, a number of fragments go to make up one brass, as at Walkern, where the Humbarstone memorial is made up of no fewer than eleven pieces, cut out of three or four different foreign brasses; or at Ossington, where apparently one German and four English brasses have been used to make the Peckham brass, which lies upon an altar tomb, and has a number of plates for husband, wife, children, inscriptions, and shields, almost all palimpsest.

On the other hand, the brass at St. Peter-in-the-East, Oxford, is entirely, with the exception of a part of the children, cut from one plate, the various pieces fitting together and forming the greater part of a canopy.

The two figures of the Wayte brass at Upminster are from a very large foreign brass, probably Flemish, and when placed together show gloved hands folded on the body, part of a richly diapered chasuble, and a portion of the stem of a crozier. Two more pieces from this same figure are re-used in parts of the brass at Bayford, which is thus proved to have issued from the same workshop. More of the diapered chasuble appears, and also of the crozier and stem.

Several others of these brasses deserve more particular mention. The obverse of the Hadleigh brass is a long rhyming inscription to Rowland Tailor, who was one of the Marian martyrs, and it is in its way a curiosity—

“ Gloria in altissimis deo
Of Rowland Tailors fame I shewe
An excellent Devyne
And Doctor of the Civill lawe
A preacher rare and syne

Kinge Henrye and Kinge Edward' dayes
 Preacher and parson here
 That gave to God contynuall praise
 And kept his flocke in feare
 And for the truthe condemned to dye
 He was in fierye flame
 Where he received pacyentlie
 The torment of the same
 And stronglie suffred to thende
 Whiche made the standers by
 Reioyce in God to see their frende
 And pastor so to dye
 O Taillor were thie myghtie fame
 Uprightly here inolde
 Thie Deedes deserve that this good name
 Were siphered here in golde
 obiit Anno dñi, 1555."

The reverse is part of a large foreign brass, *c.* 1500, showing the head, shoulders, and hands of a civilian with a diapered background, and the flowing robe of an angel, who may have been supporting a shield above the man's head.

The illustration is from the brass at Yealmpton, Devon, the obverse being a plain inscription to Isabell Copleston, 1580. The reverse is an interesting piece of Flemish or German work of the latter half of the fifteenth century, and exhibits a considerable part of the brass from which it was cut. From the position of the figures so near to the upper margin it is probable that at least half the rectangle was occupied by a long inscription. The attitude of the tonsured head below the scroll shows that the plate commemorated a priest, and that he was kneeling. The remaining words of the scroll, ". . . esto . memor . iacobi . precibus . pia . virgo . . ." introduce the other two principal figures, St. James of Compostella behind, with his pilgrim's staff, hat, and cockleshell, and the Blessed Virgin in front. The Heavenly Father's throne rises from an orle of conventional clouds, and His outstretched arms hold a sheet which contains the naked soul, whose head



Christe thine d' September cometh to the hundredth years thine spent
 And four times twenty were, once Christ to earth was sent
 When Isabell the host of Coppleston, deare did dye
 The thre day buried thence naide here in timber doth lye
 So Henry fourth the thre daughter by desire
 And Agnes take, his mothers name, of Sanctiwallers blode was she

is surrounded with a nimbus. The brass may very well be loot from some Netherland church.

The brass at St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, is especially curious, because the effigy of Peter Rede is in armour of about a hundred years earlier than its date, being evidently copied by an inexperienced local engraver from an older figure. The inscription is in capitals divided by dots, and describes him as having "worthely served not only hys prynce and cuntrey but allso the emperor Charles the 5 bothe at the conquest of Barbaria and at the siege of Tunis as also in other places who had geven hym by the sayd emperour for hys valiaunt dedes the order of Barbaria." The figure is cut transversely from a large foreign brass, probably Flemish, on which may be seen part of a man's head, in a cap, upon a diapered background beneath a canopy. The inscription is from the same brass, with a strip of border, and part of the man's body and hands.

The West Lavington and Norton Disney palimpsests, far apart though they lie, one in Wiltshire, and the other in Lincolnshire, are from the same foreign brass, a long and extremely interesting Dutch inscription, of which thirty-three lines are at Norton, and nine at Lavington, recording the foundation, in 1518, of a mass at the altar of St. Cornelius in the church of Westmonstre, by Adrian Adrianson and the lady Paesschine van den Steyne. The church formerly existed in the city of Middleburgh, in Walcheren, in the province of Zeeland, and seems to have been completely destroyed in 1575. The Norton plate has been fixed in a hinged frame on the north wall of the chancel.

At Wardour Castle, the Wiltshire seat of Lord Arundel, there are a number of fragments of Arundel brasses, of which in several instances other parts still remain in the church from which they were removed, viz. Mawgan-in-Pyder, Cornwall. The foreign palimpsests are all preserved at the castle, having at one time been loose at Lanherne Nunnery, close to Mawgan

Church. They are of considerable interest, and exhibit portions of several fine brasses of the fourteenth century and later.

The Harrow brass, a long inscription, is from two very fine fourteenth-century brasses of the best German type, the one showing a piece of margin with a prophet and a small seated weeper in canopied niches, and the other, which is a little earlier, the neck, shoulders, hands, and part of the face of a lady, whose head reposes on a cushion supported by angels, and boldly diapered with buds and foliage; a strip of the border also appears, with its piece of fillet, a shield of arms, and a canopied saint with sword and book, apparently St. Paul.

The Margate fragment is the last which need be mentioned. It is an inscription which, from the style of lettering, the shape of the numerals, and the use of the word "Hier" for "Here," was perhaps cut in Flanders, and imported directly thence. The reverse is part of the border of a brass which bears a close resemblance to one still existing at Ypres. In the midst of a bold pattern of vines, and between the loops of a flowing inscription-scroll, there are shields and little sketches to illustrate the life of man from the cradle to the grave. There are two of these scenes at Margate, a little child catching butterflies, and, the next stage, two boys amusing themselves at stilt-walking.

In addition to the engraved metal stolen from English and foreign churches, there are other palimpsests which, like the earliest examples mentioned on p. 257, appear to be made up from spoilt plates, *i.e.* brasses cancelled in the workshop, through some error either in detail or in the inscription or heraldry, or from the design not meeting with approval. The dates of the two sides will then generally, though not always, nearly coincide. It will be sufficient to mention a few of such "wasters," as Mr. Stephenson has termed them.

A priest in processional vestments at the Temple Church, Bristol, *c.* 1460, is cut out of a lady of about the same date.

The lower portion of an unknown abbot, *c.* 1400, loose in St. Albans Abbey, shows on the reverse the lower half of a lady, also of about the same date. At Ampton, Suffolk, there is a lady on either side of the plate, the one *c.* 1490, the other twenty years earlier.

In some cases a greater length of time separates the first and second engravings. Thus, at Clifton Campville, Staffs., the demi-figure of a lady, *c.* 1360, on a bracket, is cut from a cross-legged knight in chain-mail, *c.* 1300; and at Ipsden, Oxon., the figures of Thomas and Isabel Englysche, 1525, are respectively from a lady and from an inscription *c.* 1420. As there are a good many such brasses, especially inscriptions, it seems likely that the original plates may have become loose, then lost or stolen, and so have found their way into the hands of dealers in old metal, and so back to the workshops.

In a very few instances both sides of a palimpsest refer to the same person. The brass at Burwell, Cambs., to Laurence de Wardeboys, Abbot of Ramsey from 1508 to 1539, was probably prepared during his lifetime, and represented him as an abbot. But before his death in 1542, the abbey had been suppressed, and he was no longer abbot. The monument was therefore altered to suit his altered condition, and the lower part of his effigy was turned over and re-engraved with cassock and surplice, an entirely new head and shoulders being supplied. The indent, however, of the points of the original mitre can still be traced in the stone above the head-cushion upon which he rests. This is in fact a peculiarly interesting brass. It was furnished with a triple canopy, of which only the central pediment remains, itself palimpsest in the ordinary way, and cut from the much earlier and unique brass of a deacon in amice, maniple and dalmatic, the last fringed only on the left side.

Another instance of the same person twice engraved occurs at St. Margaret's, Rochester, in the half-effigy of Thomas Cod,

vicar, 1465. He was at first correctly vested in cassock, surplice, almuce, and cope, but on the later side—if it really is the later—an amice for some quite unaccountable reason takes the place of the almuce.

Yet again, there is a most curious palimpsest at Walton-on-Thames, in the brass of John Selwyn, “gent’ keeper of her Ma^{tis} Parke of Oteland’ vnder y^e right honorable Charles Howard Lord Admyrall of England,” 1587, with his wife and family. The brass is of an ordinary type; but one plate between the heads of the principal figures is of more than usual interest, as it displays a feat of agility performed by John Selwyn at a stag-hunt in the presence of Queen Elizabeth. In the *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. i. p. 1, it is said that Selwyn, “in the heat of the chase, suddenly leaped from his horse upon the back of the stag (both running at that time with their utmost speed), and not only kept his seat gracefully, in spite of every effort of the affrighted beast, but, drawing his sword, with it guided him towards the Queen, and coming near her presence, plunged it in his throat, so that the animal fell dead at her feet.” This small plate, measuring $8\frac{1}{4}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, is palimpsest, and has two representations of the stag-killing. The reverse shows Selwyn with a short beard, without hat, and holding with the left hand the stag’s right horn, while with the other he plunges the sword into its neck. This side is lightly engraved, and appears to have been submitted for approval, and rejected. The obverse has a much more spirited representation of the scene. Selwyn wears a hat and cloak, and keeps his seat without holding the horns of the stag.

So far we have considered palimpsests in which the metal is engraved upon both sides. There remains a small class where this is not the case, but where existing brasses have simply been appropriated to later use by the addition of new inscriptions and shields. Such has been the case at Bromham, Beds., where there is the fine brass of a man in complete plate armour and a collar of SS., c. 1435, with two wives,

under a good triple canopy. From two original shields which remain between the heads of the figures, the brass has been attributed to Thomas Wideville, 1433, and his two wives Elizabeth and Alice. But the inscription at the foot makes it to be the memorial of Sir John Dyve, 1535, his wife, and his mother, and the Dyve arms, *Gules, a fess dancette or between 3 escallops ermine*, have been inserted in a shield upon the centre finial of the canopy. This, then, is a "palimpsest by appropriation."

Similar appropriations occur at Gunby, Lincs., *c.* 1405 and 1552; Laughton, Lincs., *c.* 1400 and 1549; Horley, Surrey, *c.* 1420 and 1516; Ticehurst, Sussex, *c.* 1370 and 1546; and Charwelton, Northants., *c.* 1510 and 1541.

In a few rare instances an appropriated brass was actually altered with the graving tool. This has happened at Chalfont St. Peter, Bucks., where a priest in eucharistic vestments, *c.* 1440, has been altered by the addition of shading, the rounding of the toes, and a new inscription, making him into Robert Hanson, vicar, who died in 1545. So also at Great Ormesby, Norfolk, in a lady transferred from *c.* 1440 to 1538; at Waterperry, Oxon., from *c.* 1445 to 1527; and at Okeover, Staffs., where an examination of the reverses has enabled a complete identification to be made. Originally laid down to the memory of William, fifth Lord Zouch, of Harringworth, and his two wives, about the year 1447, soon after the death of his first wife, Alice Seymour, it became, probably as spoil from some monastic house, the memorial of Humphrey Oker, who died in 1538, his wife Isabel, and their children. Little alteration was really made in the brass, except in the figure of Lord Zouch, where portions of the body armour were cut away, and a tabard, charged with the Oker arms, made in the indent thus created. The upper part of the helmet with its crest was removed, and the crest of Oker substituted. The lady on the dexter side remained unaltered and passed as Isabel Oker, but the second lady was superfluous, so her

figure was reversed, and thereon were engraved the children in three rows, the head and shoulders of the figure being filled up with an oak tree bearing a shield. The tree was no doubt intended as a rebus upon the name of Oker. The original shields and the marginal inscription were simply turned over and re-engraved.

CHAPTER XI

THE ELIZABETHAN REVIVAL

QUEEN ELIZABETH, 1558-1603

JAMES I. 1603-1625

IN the reign of Elizabeth there is a remarkable revival of brass-engraving. The general character of the brasses is entirely changed, and not for the better, but they become almost more popular than ever; for the Elizabethan brasses number some 540, with 260 more of the same type in the reign of James I., chiefly in his opening years. Caroline and later brasses are much fewer, and number in all about 150, until the art is finally and ignominiously extinguished.

From the very first year of Elizabeth brasses begin to average double the number of those which were laid down per annum in the two previous reigns. And now for the first time they also begin to be not only engraved, but the plates themselves manufactured in England. It has been pointed out by Haines that a patent was granted by the Queen, in 1565, to Wm. Humfrey, assay master of the mint, and Christopher Shutz, "an Almain," to search and mine for calamine, and to have the use of it for making all sorts of battery wares, cast works, and wire, of latten. At the same time similar privileges, he says, were granted to Cornelius Devos, and to Daniel Houghsetter, and Thomas Thurland. In 1568 the company of the mineral and battery works was incorporated, and in 1584 re-incorporated; in which year a lease of works at Isleworth, on the Thames, was granted to John

Brode, who appears to have greatly improved the manufacture ; and about the same period many other brass mills were set up, especially in Somersetshire. The workmen are stated to have made "plates both of copper and brasse of all scyces little and great, thick and thyn, for all purposes." Unfortunately those which were to be used for monumental engraving were so thin and poor that the Elizabethan and later brasses are almost invariably bent and battered, and in far worse condition now than memorials laid down in earlier periods, and for this very reason, amongst others, they have been much neglected.

The better preserved brasses are those which from the first were placed upon the wall instead of the floor, and escaped the wear and tear of the tread of feet. And this plan was very commonly used, so that mural brasses become a feature of the age. Often they were rectangular, and fitted into tablets of grey marble with ornamental or moulded borders. They were then usually quite small. Often again they were placed within the canopied recess of an altar tomb, in a series of small plates which, in the case of a family, represent the parents kneeling at desks and facing one another, while the boys and girls kneel behind. But the larger brasses were still upon the floor in the usual way. And if the material was thin, so was the style of the drawing. The lines are shallow and uncertain, and there is much confused shading, so that an Elizabethan or Jacobean brass, interesting though it may be, is often not at all a thing of beauty.

There are still plenty of men in armour, more than a hundred in the reign of Elizabeth, barely twenty in that of King James. And the armour very quickly changes and becomes fixed in a new type. For a very few years the mail skirt and tuilles hold their place, and then give way to a fresh style, which was partly enforced by the corresponding change in civil costume. The old armour is well exemplified in the brass of Sir Henry Sacheverell and his wife at Morley, Derbyshire, 1558 (cf. illustration), but with transitional features. The



Hic iacent corpora Henrici Sacheverell de morley in
 Comitatu Derby militis et Isabella uxoris eius qui
 quondam Henricus obiit xxi die Julij A dñi m ccc lviij

SIR HENRY SACHEVERELL, AND HIS WIFE ISABEL, 1558

MORLEY, DERBYSHIRE

(Shield of arms omitted)

tuilles have already given place to a pair of rudimentary tassets, and the sword-belt and cord or strap, from which the dagger is suspended, are quite in the later mode. But soon long-waisted doublets and short trunk hose became the fashion, and it was impossible to wear the old armour over them. The following alterations will therefore be remarked. The cuirass is made long, like the doublet, ridged, and brought to a peak in the form known as the "peascod," and it is furnished with a projecting rim. The front of the thigh is protected by laminated cuissarts which pass under the trunk hose, and the lower part of the leg by close-fitting knee-caps and greaves; the sollerets are complete, and take the shape of the foot. Buckled to the rim of the cuirass, and hanging down over the trunk hose, are two large tassets, the most characteristic feature of Elizabethan armour. They take the place of tuilles, but are much larger, and formed of a number of hinged plates; they are usually, but not always, rounded towards the knee, and are fastened to the breeches by leather straps. The pauldrons upon the shoulders are also very large, but have no ridges or guards, and consist of several riveted plates. They are generally lined with leather, and the scalloped edge of the lining is allowed to extend beyond the plates and form an ornamented edging. The lining of the tassets is often shown in the same way. The head and hands are left bare, but the neck is encircled with a ruff and the wrists with frills, which give a most unwarlike appearance to the panoply of steel. The helm, a close armet, is sometimes placed behind the head, and sometimes, with kneeling figures, upon the ground, together with the gauntlets. Persons of every degree are represented as standing, generally upon a chequered pavement or a round pedestal, or else kneeling upon cushions.

All these points of armour, except the helm, and that the cuissarts have back-pieces, are well illustrated in the brass of Nicholas Wadham at Ilminster, which is here figured. The



NICHOLAS WADHAM, ESQ., AND HIS WIFE DOROTHEA, 1618
ILMINSTER, SOMERSET

example is a late one, but nevertheless thoroughly typical of Elizabethan as well as Jacobean armour, since no further changes occurred until the next reign. The linings of the pauldrons and tassets are clearly shown, and also the hinges and straps which fasten the latter in their place. The attachment of the dagger by means of a scarf should also be noticed, since this is the usual mode. The sword-belt is also typical, though the sword is a little broken. It is common at this period for swords to have guarded or basket hilts. The ornamental borders of the shields are also a feature which is frequently met with, and the inscription is reversed simply in order that it may be more easily read, the feet of effigies, like the bodies in the grave, being almost invariably placed towards the east. The persons here commemorated are of academic importance, the founders of Wadham College, Oxford—

“Here lyeth Interred the body of Nicholas Wadham, whyles he lyued of Merefeild in y^e County of Somersett Esquier, ffownder of Wadham Colledge in Oxforde, who Depted this lyfe y^e xx day of Octob’ 1609. Here lieth also y^e body of Dorotheie Wadham widow, late the wife of Nicholas Wadham Esq’ : Foundresse of Wadham Colledge in Oxforde, who died the 16 of May 1618 In the yeare of her age 84.”

Inscriptions are not always of this simple character, but are often long, elaborate, and couched in verse. Here, for instance, is one from the brass of John Browne and his sister Winifrid, in the church of St. John Sepulchre, Norwich, 1597. It is in Roman capitals, as follows:—

“Jhon Browne of Waltone Gentleman, Phillip Browns sone & heir
 Brother unto Winifrid, his onlie sister deare
 Foreseeinge that mans life Is fraile, and subject unto death
 Hath chosen him this syllie shrine, to shrevd his corps in earth
 Yet hopes he for to rise againe, through faith in Christ Gods sone
 Who for his soule elect to life, a glorious crowne hath won
 This is his hoape this is his trust, faith is his onely sheilde
 By which he over syn and death and sathan wins the feeld.”

He is dressed in similar armour to that of Nicholas

Wadham, and holds his sister by the left hand. A further inscription of the same sort proclaims her merits, and there is an achievement of arms above their heads.

Of course a few variations in the armour described are occasionally found. The puffed breeches were sometimes laid aside, and then the thighs could be protected by continuous plates from cuirass to knee, instead of by cuissarts below and tassets above. A good example may be noted in the brass of Thomas Hawkins, 1587, at Boughton-under-Blean, Kent. It is difficult to know whether to describe his thigh-pieces as cuissarts, or as "tassets à l'ecrevisse," but they are lined with leather, and show its scalloped edge. There is a superb suit of French armour in the Guard-chamber of Windsor Castle in perfect preservation, which shows a precisely similar arrangement, in which Mr. Starkie Gardner describes the thigh-pieces as "laminar cuissarts." In another example in the same place, in a demi-suit of the Earl of Essex, he calls them "cuissarts à écrivisse." The Hawkins inscription is another curious instance of rhymed verse, but written in black letter, on two plates:—

"I now that lye within this marble stone
Was called Thomas Hawkins by my name
My terme of life an hundred yeares and one
King Henry theight I serued which won me fame
Who was to me a gracious prince alwayes
And made me well to spend myne aged days.
My stature high my bodye bigge and strong
Excelling all that lived in myne age
But nature spent, death would not tary longe
To fetch the pledge which life had layed to gage
My fatall daye if thow desyer to knowe
Behold the figures written here belowe."
15 Martii . 1587.

An almost precisely similar figure to that of Thomas Hawkins may be seen at Eastry, in the same county, in a brass to Thomas Nevynson, Esq., and his wife, 1590. It is evidently from the same workshop and by the same hand. This Nevynson was "att the tyme of his death provost Marshall

& Scoutmaster of y^e Est partes of Kent & Captayne of y^e lyghte horses of the lathe of St. Augustines."

A few other typical examples of Elizabethan men in armour are now given, but it is not quite easy to choose the best, since a number of them have never been illustrated. At the beginning of the period there will be some with mail skirts and tuilles, and some showing transition forms, rudimentary tassets over bunchy mail skirts worn upon trunk hose, and so forth. But after 1575 the majority are in the regular "tasset" style.

- Adderley, Salop., 1560, Sir Robt. Nedeham and wife.
 Brundish, Suffolk, 1560, John Colby, Esq., and wife.
 North Mimms, Herts., c. 1560, Rich. Butler, Esq., and wife.
 Stratton, Cornwall, 1561, Sir John Arundell and two wives.
 Narburgh, Norfolk, 1561, John Eyer, Esq., and wife, kneeling.
 Tiltey Abbey, Essex, 1562, Geo. Medeley, Esq., and wife.
 Little Plumstead, Norfolk, 1565, Sir Edw. Warner.
 Exhall, Warw., 1566, John Walsingham, Esq., and wife.
 Sefton, Lancs., 1568, Sir Wm. Molyneux and two wives.
 Braiseworth, Suffolk, 1569, Alex. Newton, Esq.
 Newton Flotman, Norfolk, 1571, Rich., Ralph, and Edw. Blondevyale, kn.
 Knowle, Dorset, 1572, John Clavell, Esq., and two wives.
 Churchill, Somerset, 1572, Raphe Jenyns, Esq., and wife.
 St. Paul's, Bedford, 1573, Sir Wm. Harper and wife.
 Haseley, Warw., 1573, Clement Throkmorton, Esq., and wife.
 Hayes, Middlesex, 1576, Thos. Higate, Esq., and wife.
 Bromham, Wilts., 1578, Sir Edw. Baynton and two wives.
 Isfield, Sussex, 1579, Thos. Shurley, Esq., and wife.
 Woodford-by-Thrapstone, Northants., c. 1580, Symon Malory, Esq.
 Narburgh, Norfolk, 1581, John Spelman.
 Knebworth, Herts., 1582, Rowland Lytton, Esq., and two wives.
 Clifford Chambers, Glos., 1583, Hercules Raynesford, Esq., and wife.
 Easton, Suffolk, 1584, John Wingfield, Esq.
 Harrington, Lincs., 1585, John Copledike, Esq., and wife.
 Haccombe, Devon, 1586, Thos. Carewe, Esq.
 St. Martin's, Canterbury, 1591, Thos. Stoughton, gent.

Wrentham, Suffolk, 1593, Humphrey Brewster, Esq.
 Clippesby, Norfolk, 1594, John Clippesby, Esq., and wife.
 St. Decumans, Somerset, 1596, John Windham, Esq., and wife.
 West Hanney, Berks., 1599, Sir Christopher Lytcot.
 Upton, Bucks., 1599, Edw. Bulstrode, Esq., and wife.
 Sawbridgeworth, Herts., *c.* 1600, Edw. Leventhorp, Esq., and wife.
 Ash-next-Sandwich, Kent, 1602, Christopher Septvans and wife.
 Illogan, Cornwall, 1603, Jas. Bassett, Esq., and wife.
 Felbrigg, Norfolk, 1608, Thos. Windham, Esq.
 Wrotham, Kent, 1611, Wm. Clerke, Esq., and wife.
 Benhall, Suffolk, 1611, Ambrose Duke, Esq.
 Stopham, Sussex, 1614, Rich. Barttelot, Esq., and two wives.
 Preston Deanery, Northants., 1622, Sir Clement Edmonds and wife.

Although the military brasses are still so plentiful, yet at this period it is quite usual for knights and gentlemen to be represented in civil costume. And in this there is but one dress for men of all degrees. Nor is it in the least interesting, for the doublets and hose are invariably and almost completely hidden within a long close gown reaching to the feet, and hardly varying throughout the two reigns.

It may be well seen in the small rectangular brass now figured from Little Wittenham, Berks., to the memory of William Dunche, Esq., "Auditor of the Myntes" to Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and "Esquier sworne extreordinarie for the bodye of our soveraigne Ladie Elizabeth," and his wife Marie. The brass was engraved in Dunche's lifetime, *c.* 1585, and the spaces for the date of his death, which occurred in 1597, were never filled in. Of his doublet only the sleeves are visible, the arms being thrust through openings in those of the gown, which hang pendent from the shoulders. These are its permanent characteristic, and the only variation admitted is in the position of the openings, which may be right up at the shoulder, or halfway down the upper arm. The gown is also sometimes heavily furred. Ruffs are worn at the neck, and usually frills round the wrists. Boys, as may be

seen in this example, do not wear the gown, but a short cloak more suitable to their age. Altogether the brass is a good specimen of the better sort of mural plate, and its two compartments and classical architecture are not displeasing.



WILLIAM DUNCHE, ESQ., AND HIS WIFE MARIE, ENGRAVED c. 1585
LITTLE WITTENHAM, BERKSHIRE

But a simpler type is more usual, such as that of a little brass at Richmond, Surrey, 1591, where the background is perfectly plain, and a husband and wife kneel on a dais facing one another, with their sons and daughters on the pavement behind. The brass also commemorates another of those officers of the court who seem to have been so lavishly

employed by all the Tudor sovereigns, if we may judge from the number of their monuments which have survived. The one now in question was "Mr. Robert Cotton Gentelmā sometime an officer of the remooving Wardroppe of Bedds unto queene Marie whoe by her Ma^{ts} speciall choise was taken from the Wardroppe to serve her Ma^{tie} as a Groome in her privie chamber al her lyfetime and after her decease againe he became an officer of the wardroppe wher he served her Ma^{tie} that now is queene Elizabeth many yeres and dyed yeomā of the same office."

A great deal of information, it may be seen, is given in the inscriptions, and it is often of interest. There is, for instance, an excellent civilian brass at Downe, Kent, to Jacob Verzelini, Esq., patentee for the manufacture of drinking-glasses, and his wife, in 1607. His gown is thrown a little open, so as to expose his breeches and doublet, which last is much slashed and ornamented. The wife's dress is elaborately adorned with embroidery, and both wear ample ruffs. Verzelini was "borne in the cittie of Venice, and Elizabeth his wife borne in Andwerpe of the Auncient houses of Vanburen and Mace'," and full particulars are given of their ages, marriage, and deaths. They had evidently become quite Anglicized, had accepted the national form of religion, and "rest in hope of resurrexion to lyfe eternall." Poetry of a kind is not seldom found, and a single instance must suffice. It is taken from a small brass at Yoxford, Suffolk, 1613, the inscription in Roman capitals being beneath the figure of a man in an open gown, ruff, doublet, breeches, stockings, and shoes:—

"An epitaphe upon Anthony Cooke, who decea | sed upon Ester Monday Anno Dni 1613.

"At the due sacrifice of the paschall lambe
 Aprill had eayghte dayes wep'e in showers thē came
 Leane hungry deathe who never pittie tooke
 And cawse y^e feaste was ended slewe this Cooke
 On ester-monday he lyves then no daye more
 But suncke to ryse wth him that Rose before

Hees here intombed A man of vertues line
Outreche his yeares yet they were seaventye-nyne
He lefte on earthe tenn children of eleaven
To keepe his name whilste himselfe wente to heaven."

The last illustration, of Richard Gadburye, of Eyworth, Beds., 1624, is included to show that in the last year of King James changes were about to come in the hitherto prevailing type. The gown is very peculiar, and the hat a quite unusual feature. There are also a wife and daughter, a shield of arms, and an inscription, which records the foundation of a charitable trust.

The ladies of the Elizabethan revival approximate, as usual, to certain definite types. At first the Queen Mary costume is worn much as it may be seen in the figure of Isabel Sacheverell, 1558, illustrated on p. 271. Next, from about 1560 to 1575, or a little later, the over-gown is fastened only at the waist, and by a small sash. It is also much more open in front, and exposes a quilted or embroidered under-gown or petticoat. The space between the throat and the bodice is entirely covered by a gathered partlet with a small frill, and the French bonnet remains in fashion as before. This dress is retained by Marie Dunche (cf. illustration, p. 278), c. 1585, with the addition of a ruff instead of the small frill, but hers is a late example.

For the next change, and the most characteristic, reference may be made to the figure of Dorothie Wadham, on p. 273. Her skirt is distended at the hips by a farthingale, and in this instance is closed by a succession of small loops and buttons; more usually it is open, in order to display the embroidered petticoat, which was still worn underneath. The sleeves are quite plain. A large ruff at the neck and frills at the wrists are almost invariable, and in this matter Dorothie Wadham's collar and cuffs are an exception to the rule. The lappet of the bonnet is now turned up over the head, and sometimes comes so far forward as to shade the face, and to gain for



RICHARD GADBURY, 1624
EYWORTH, BEDFORDSHIRE

itself the peculiar name of a "shadow," or "bonne-grace." At the very end of the period a large hooded calash or veil was occasionally substituted, with a kind of mantle hanging down over the shoulders. It is at this time too, during the "farthingale period," that hats are often seen, broad-brimmed, high-crowned, and surrounded by a wreathed kerchief.

Another fashion is illustrated by Dame Margaret Chute, 1614, of Marden, Hereford. This lady wears a peaked stomacher and a wheel-farthingale, the wheel formed by a flounce round the waist, stiffened with wire. A starched collar, ornamented with point lace, takes the place of a ruff, and the hair is brushed up to a lace crown, which must, like the wheel, have been supported by wirework.

Amongst curious brasses, of which there are many, it may be well to mention a little group to women who died in childbirth, and which may be called "Bedstead Brasses." The first is at Heston, Middlesex, to Constance, the wife of Mordicai Bownell, vicar of the parish. She died in childbirth in 1581, and is represented in an old-fashioned four-post bedstead, with the dead infant on the coverlet. At the side is a ministering angel, and above a figure of our Lord in glory. The inscription is now lost, as are also the kneeling husband and his children.

Another is at Halling, Kent, to the memory of Silvester, the wife, first of William Dalyson, Esq., and afterwards of William Lambarde, gentleman. She "Died the . 1 . Sept. 1587 . leavyng on lyve by William Dalyson, Silvester a Daughter, and Maximilian a Son : and by William Lambarde. Multon a Son, Margaret a Daughter and gore and Fane Sonnes and twynnes." The bedstead stands upon a tiled floor in a perfectly bare room against a brick wall, with its foot towards the spectator, and the lady sitting up and supported by three pillows. The twins are in a cradle, and the four children stand on either side of the bed, but the husband does not appear.



DAME MARGARET CHUTE, 1614
MARDEN, HEREFORDSHIRE

At Hurst, in Berkshire, *c.* 1600, Alice Harison is similarly commemorated. She was "cooferer" to Queen Elizabeth, and deceased in childbed of her only son Richard.

The Wormington brass is illustrated, with the exception of two shields outside the composition. Here the bed is turned sideways, in front of a panelled wall, and is furnished with curtains, and the floor is boarded. There are no attendant mourners, and the swaddled infant is laid upon the coverlet. The size of the brass is nearly 3 feet by $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

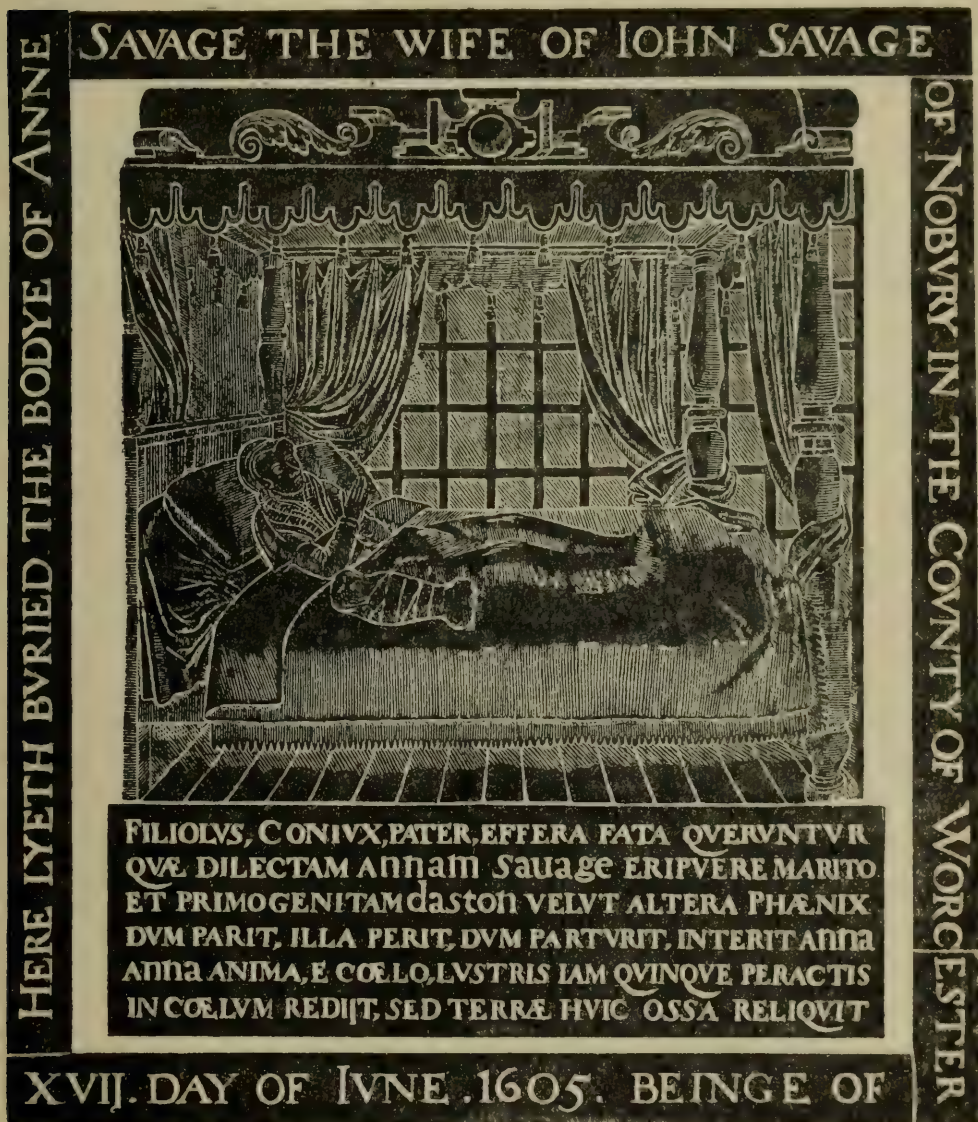
Yet another, at Holywell Church, Oxford, 1622, commemorates Eliza Franklin, "who dangerowsly escaping death at 3 severall travells in childe-bed died together wth the fourth." In this instance all four children are placed upon the bed.

The clergy are naturally of some importance at this period, and inaugurate the changes which came with the Reformation. In the year 1561 we have Dr. William Bill, Dean of Westminster, Provost of Eton, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and chief almoner to Queen Elizabeth. He is in a gown with a doctor's hood, and his brass lies on a high tomb in the chapel of St. Benedict in Westminster Abbey.

But there is not a parish priest until the tenth year of Elizabeth's reign, when we get William Dye, at Westerham, Kent. He wears a cassock, a closed and gathered surplice to a little below the knee, and a long scarf disposed about his neck after the manner of a stole, and suggesting the modern Anglican use of stole and surplice in conjunction. Dye's scarf reaches almost to the feet, and has plain ends. He has, of course, no tonsure. The inscription runs as follows:—"Here lyeth buried in y^e M'cy of Jhūs christe | y^e body of Syr William Dye Prest sumtyme | Pson of Tattisfylde whiche Deceased in Anno | dñi 1567 of whose soule Jhū haue Mercy."

An earlier "parson" of the year 1561 existed until recent years at Denham, Bucks., in the brass of Leonard Hurst, figured by Haines, but now unhappily lost. He wore over his cassock a surplice open in front, like a college surplice, fastened

at the neck by a single button, and reaching to the feet. He also had a long scarf.



ANNE SAVAGE, 1605
WORMINGTON, GLOUCESTERSHIRE
(Shields of arms omitted)

Another brass of the same type is still to be seen at Whichford, Warwick, to the memory of Nicholas Asheton,

S.T.B., 1582, chaplain to the Earl of Derby, and rector. He has been described as "habited in a cassock, open in front," but the presence of the scarf seems to prove it to be simply the long surplice.

But with these exceptions the clergy of the Reformation are almost invariably represented in the ordinary costume of the laity, doublet and hose without cassock, and the long gown with its pendent sleeves, or a variety of the same known as the Geneva preaching-gown. The earliest example is, perhaps, to be found in the brass which heads the list given below, namely, that of "Syr John Fenton prest Bachelor of law sumtyme vicar of this church and Offishall of Coventree," at Coleshill, Warw. The inscription, which begins "Here lieth the body," ends with the aspiration, "Whose soule Jesus pardon. Amen."

It is remarkable that the list is a comparatively short one. The clergy were married, and left widows and children to care for their memory. Yet the proportion of ecclesiastical brasses, at least during the reign of Elizabeth, is far smaller than before the Reformation. Perhaps the money which the clergy left behind them was required for other and more necessary purposes than for their monuments. Post-reformation ecclesiastics are found at—

Coleshill, Warw., 1566, John Fenton, vicar.

Sandon, Essex, *c.* 1580, Patrick Fearne, parson, and wife.

Sturminster Marshall, Dorset, 1581, Hen. Helme, vicar, small.

Upton, Warw., 1587, Rich. Woddomes, parson, and wife, qd. pl.

North Crawley, Bucks., 1589, John Garbrand, D.D., parson, qd. pl.

Croxton, Cambs., 1589, Edw. Leeds, LL.D., rector.

St. James', Dover, Kent, *c.* 1590, Vincent Huffam, priest, and wife.

Storrington, Sussex, 1591, Hen. Wilsha, B.D., chaplain.

Aylestone, Leics., 1594, Wm. Heathcott, parson.

Monewden, Suffolk, 1595, Thos. Reve.

Chevening, Kent, 1596, Griffin Lloyd and wife.

Morston, Norfolk, 1596, Rich. Makynghes.

Bray, Berks., *c.* 1600, an ecclesiastic and wife, qd. pl.

Clothall, Herts., 1602, Wm. Lucas, M.A., parson.
 Stonham Aspell, Suffolk, 1606, John Metcalfe.
 Tingewick, Bucks., 1608, Erasmus Williams, rector, demi., qd. pl.
 Burgh St. Margaret, Norfolk, 1608, John Burton, rector, kn.
 Ingoldisthorpe, Norfolk, 1608, Thos. Rogerson and wife.
 Northolt, Middlesex, 1610, Isaiah Bures, M.A., pastor, sm., kn.
 Whitchurch, Oxon., 1610, Peter Winder, curate.
 Tedburn St. Mary, Devon, 1613, Edw. Gee, parson, and wife.
 Ely Cathedral, 1614, Humphry Tyndall, D.D., Dean.
 Barwell, Leics., 1614, John Torksay, B.D., and wife, qd. pl.
 Battle, Sussex, 1615, John Wythines, D.D., Dean.
 Bletchley, Bucks., 1616, Thos. Sparke, D.D., rector, qd. pl.
 Elsenham, Essex, 1616, Dr. Tuer, vicar.
 Queen's College, Oxford, 1616, Hen. Airay, S.T.P., Provost, qd. pl.
 Yelden, Beds., 1617, Thos. Barker, M.A., rector, qd. pl.
 Stapleford, Cambs., 1617, Wm. Lee, vicar, sm., qd. pl.
 Puddleinton, Dorset, 1617, Thos. Browne, parson, qd. pl.
 High Halstow, Kent, 1618, Wm. Palke, minister, and wife.
 Hackney, Middlesex, 1618, Hugh Johnson, vicar.
 Eyke, Suffolk, 1619, Hen. Mason.
 Barley, Herts., 1621, Andrew Willett, D.D., minister.
 Elford, Staffs., 1621, J. Hill.
 Stoke Bruerne, Northants., 1625, Rich. Lightfoot, rector, qd. pl.

A special interest attaches to several of these ecclesiastics. Woddomes and his wife are kneeling at two desks with open books upon them, and their seven children ranged behind. He is curiously described as "parson and pattron and vossioner of the Churche & parishe of Oufton . . . who died one Mydsomer daye . . . whose Soule restethe with God." The term vossioner appears to mean "advowson holder."

Edward Leeds is dressed in the usual civilian or preacher's gown, and his history is a varied one. Originally a monk of Ely, he became Master of St. John's Hospital in that city, rector of Cottenham and Croxton, and Chancellor of Lichfield Cathedral. He succeeded to the eighth prebendal stall at Ely in 1548, and was Master of Clare Hall in Cambridge. A small plate above his head is inscribed with the funeral text

from Job, and ends with the words, "Hæc spes reposita est in sinu meo."

At Monewden, Suffolk, Thomas Reve wears a gown and university hood like those of Dean Bill, and, in a very small pictorial mural brass, is represented as kneeling upon a cushion before a small table, with a bookstand and a book upon the tablecloth. The inscription, which is a very long one, states that he was "brought up in y^e University of Cambridge, beinge one of y^e Seniour felowes of Gunvile and cayus Colidg where he hud contened y^e space of xx yeares & havinge tyme & allowance for the degree of Doctor in Devinite, was in y^e florishinge tyme of his age prevented by death."

The Bletchley ecclesiastic is something of a curiosity, and consists only of a bust drawn within an oval, with three sons and two daughters, and figures of death and fame. At Hackney also the little brass of Hugh Johnson is curious. It consists of three plates mounted in a stone framework, in the uppermost of which, 12 by 6 inches, the vicar is represented in ordinary civil costume. Mr. J. F. Williams, in a paper on the Hackney brasses (*Mon. Brass Soc.*, vol. v. Part III.), describes him as "kneeling in a closed pew"; Mr. Stephenson, in the *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society* (vol. iv. Part III.), as "standing in a very Jacobean-looking pulpit." In either case he is worthy of attention. The brass, which was fastened to a pillar of the chancel in the old church, is now in the present building placed in the north-east vestibule.

Most of these brasses are small, especially those which are mural and rectangular. A chief exception is that of Dean Tyndall, a really fine brass for its date, upon the floor of the south choir-aisle of Ely Cathedral. The figure of the dean measures 5 feet 4½ inches, and his false-sleeved gown has a high collar, and a long broad scarf. He also wears the usual ruff and frills, and has a close-fitting cap. The foot inscription is as follows:—

"Usquequo domine Usquequo.

"The body of the woorthy & Reverende Praelate | Umphry

Tyndall, doctor of divinity, the fourthe Deane | of this Church and master of Queenes Colledge in | Cambridge. doth heere expect y^e cominge of our saviour.

“In presence gouernment, good actions and in birth
Graue, wise couragious, Noble was this earth
The poore, y^e Church, y^e Colledge saye here lyes,
A freinde, a Deane, a maister, true, good, wise.”

There is also a broad border fillet, of which the opening and closing words are lost:—“[Umphribus Tyndall Nobili] Norfolciensium Tyndallorum familia oriundus, Decanus quartus istius Ecclesiæ, obiit [xii] Die Mensis Octob: Año salutis, Millessimo Sexcentessimo Decimo Quarto Anno Ætatis suæ, Se[xagesimo Quinto.]” Of four shields at the corners within the margin, the upper dexter bears Tyndall and Deen quarterly, the upper sinister the same impaling Russel, the lower dexter the Deanery of Ely (*Gules, 3 keys paleways or*), impaling Tyndall and Deen, and the lower sinister Queens’ College (*Sable, a cross and crozier in saltire or, surmounted by a boar’s head argent*), impaling the same. There is also an achievement of arms above the dean’s head, with a crest of six feathers, mantling, and a shield with six private coats, Tyndall and Deen, Bigod, Felbrigg, Scales, Ufford, and Mondeford.

Dean Wythines, of Battle, is also of some importance, S.T.D., Fellow of Brasenose, and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford. His brass lies within the altar-rails of Battle Church, and is to a certain extent meritorious. He wears the civilian gown, a scarf, and a square college cap without tassel. In his right hand there is a small book, and a large ring upon the thumb. This ring is noticeable, and was, perhaps, referable to one of the ceremonies anciently connected with the conferring of a doctor’s degree. Two scrolls proceed from his mouth, and rise towards an achievement of arms above his head. The one bears—

“Tædet animam meam vitæ meæ.”

and the other—

“Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo.”

There are two foot inscriptions : "Hic iacet Johannes Wythines in præ | nobili civitate cestriæ natus, et in | academia Oxon̄ educatus, ibique ænei | nasi collegii socius, sacræ theologiæ | Doctor, Academię Oxon̄ prædcæ | Vicecancellarius, huiusq Ecclesiæ de | Battel XLII annos decanus qui obiit | xviii die martii, Anno ætatis suæ 84 | et salutis humanæ 1615," and four Latin verses.

Besides these Reformation parochial clergy, there are bishops in the persons of Edmund Geste, Bishop of Salisbury, 1578, and Henry Robinson, Bishop of Carlisle, 1616. The former is a very plain figure with a short beard, and appears to be wearing the rochet and chimere, lawn sleeves, and a broad scarf. He holds a clasped book in his left hand, and a short staff with a pointed ferule in his right. This staff is only of about the length of a walking-stick, and has a knobbed handle. There is a long Latin foot inscription in black letter, which describes Dr. Geste as S.T.P. of Cambridge, and formerly Bishop of Rochester, and High Almoner to Queen Elizabeth. The brass is in Salisbury Cathedral, near that of Bishop Wyvil.

In the next year to Bishop Geste comes the brass of Bishop Pursglove at Tideswell, in Derbyshire ; but he is in full eucharistic vestments, and has been described on p. 112.

The brass of Bishop Robinson, already illustrated, and of which some account has been given on p. 110, introduces a new type, associated specially with the Stuart period. It is plainly the work of the engravers of copper plates for illustrations in books, and is adorned with a multitude of emblems, mottoes, and texts, very much in the manner of the frontispieces of the *Eikon Basilike* of Charles I. and similar works.

A companion brass to that of Bishop Robinson, in the same chapel, of Queen's College, Oxford, of the same date, 1616, and to his successor in the provostship, Dr. Airay, is here illustrated as a further example. The provost—and the portrait is surely life-like—in gown, scarf, academical hood,

ruff, and skull-cap, kneels upon a high tomb, the side of which bears his inscription, and a set of verses wherein he is declared to have been the Elisha upon whom the mantle of Bishop Robinson had fallen. In order to carry out the idea further, the foreground of the picture, on either side of and above the tomb, is occupied by four scenes from Elisha's life and miracles. The mantle of Elijah is conspicuous in the lower sky, and his double spirit consists of the "Spirit of Teaching" and the "Spirit of Examining," most suitable for the head of a college. Elijah himself appears in the chariot of fire at the top dexter corner above the clouds, to whom Airay exclaims, "Te sequar!" The size of both these brasses is about 21 by 16 inches, and they are very fully and lucidly described by Mr. Percy Manning in vol. i. of the *Transactions of the Oxford University Brass-Rubbing Society*.

There is another, and perhaps by the same artist as that of the Airay plate, at Tingewick, Bucks., 1608, to Erasmus Williams, illustrated, as are the last two, in the Oxford Portfolio of Brasses. It is signed "R. Haydock," and the same initials, R. H., are engraved upon a fish in the spring healed by Elisha in the Oxford brass. Like Airay, Williams kneels upon a tomb, and is surrounded by curious emblems. Behind him, suspended by cords from the top of a Corinthian column, are bundles of instruments connected with astronomy, music, painting, mathematics, and caligraphy, and a string of books, with their names—Ptolome, Livie, Plinie, Aristotle, Virgil, and Cicero. In front is a much thicker column, connected with the other by a rainbow arch, above which are the sun ("The Day is come") and the moon ("The Night is past"). But much of the symbolism is explained in the epitaph upon the side of the pictured tomb, and it is worth giving in full:—

"This dooth Erasmus Williams represent,
Whome living all did loue, deade all lament.
His humane Artes behind his backe attende,
Whereon spare howers he wisely chose to spende.

And from Corinthiane Columnne deck't with Artes,
 Now to the Temples Pillar him conuerts.
 Under the Rainebowes arche of Promise, where
 Of hoped blisse noe deluge he neede feare.
 He of this Church did a firme Pillar liue,
 T'whome deade his Wiue's loue dooth these Pillars giue.



Jacobo Cotrel Dublino primaria hibernia ciuitate oriundo, postmodum vero ciui =
 Eboracensi, Arnigero cuius corpus sub saxo insignijs eius notato asstantium pedibus vretur; qui annis
 plus minus viginti serenissima Dominae Reginae Elizabethae, eiusque in his partibus Borealiibus senatui
 quod consilium dicimus selles examinando fideliter et suauiter interuiuit; viro certe prudenti, graui eru =
 dito, misericordi, benefico, in se tamen abiectissimo, Deumq; imprimis timenti; quig; hic sedentibus viuis
 curauit (et nullis minimum) vt inoffensa valetudine liberius sederent; sedentes, stantes hoc beneuolentia
 dicilsim tribuite, vt dna cum illo viro, diui ipsi Dominum Jesum concelebretis; et licet adhuc in terris aualis,
 caelestia tamen sedulo cogitetis. Obijt 5^o cal. sept. Anno dñi 1595. Eliz. 37^o.

JAMES COTREL, 1595
 YORK MINSTER

Contrived by his Schollar and his frende,
 Whoe wisht their loues and liues had made one ende.
 Erasmus Mores encomion sett forth ;
 Wee want a More to praise Erasmus worth."

An angel with a trumpet beneath the rainbow cries, "Arise you dead & com to iudgment."

The same sort of engraving was occasionally employed abroad as well as in England, and an example may be found in the brass of Dr. Liddel at Aberdeen (cf. p. 98), which was made in Antwerp.

Many of the local schools of brass-engraving seem to have died out before the Elizabethan revival began. One new one arose at York, and continued far into the seventeenth century, and even the names of some of its artists have come down to us (cf. p. 34), signed generally upon inscriptions.

Three good figure examples, of which the first is here illustrated, still remain: one to James Cotrel, 1595, in York Minster; another to Robert Askwith, 1597, at St. Crux; and the third to Thomas Atkinson, 1642, at All Saints, North Street. They are quadrangular plates, narrower at the top than at the bottom, and bear pictorial figures at three-quarters length. The excellent lettering of the Cotrel inscription should be noticed, as well as the peculiarities in the style of the portrait. All the York brasses, to the number of forty, including inscriptions, have been carefully described, and many of them reproduced by Mr. Stephenson in vol. xviii. of the *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*.

APPENDIX (I)

CAROLINE DECADENCE

CHARLES I. 1625-1649

RAPID deterioration is the most marked characteristic of the Caroline brasses. They are few in number, and very poor in execution.

Many of them have the appearance of being the work of amateur engravers, who understood neither their material nor the use of their tools.

There seems to be only a single brass which can in any sense be described as a fine one, and that is the well-known memorial of Samuel Harsnett, Archbishop of York, at Chigwell, Essex, 1631. This man in his will, dated February 13, 1630, had given careful directions as to the making of his brass. There was to be "a Marble stone layde uppon my grave wth a Plate of Brasse moulten into the stone an ynche thicke haveinge the effigies of a Bysshoppe stamped uppon it wth his Myter and Crosiers staffe but the Brasse to be soe rivited and fastened cleare throughe the Stone as sacrilegious handes maye not rend off the one w^{thoute} breakinge the other." And the result was distinctly good. The thickness of the metal, even if it falls short of the required inch, is sufficient to have ensured the condition of the engraving, which is still very perfect. Brass and stone are not divided, though they have been removed from the grave and placed upright against a wall. The figure of the archbishop measures nearly 6 feet, and he is vested in rochet and chimere, a figured cope, and swelling mitre. A small book is in his right hand, and his left holds the crozier, which has a crook with a rose in the volute. His face is life-like, with a great hooked nose and a long beard. There are four shields of arms, for Harsnett, and Harsnett impaling each of the three bishopricks which he successively held, and a broad border fillet with the evangelists at the corners.

"Hic iacet Samuel Harsnett quondam vicarius huius Ecclesiae primo Indignus Episcopus Cicesteriensis Deindignior Episcop' Norwicencis Demum Indignissim' Archiepiscop' Eboracē qui obiit xxv die Maii Anno Dñi 1631." Below his feet are also the words, "Quod ipsissimum Epitaphium ex abundanti | humilitate sibi poni, Testamento curavit | Reverendissimus Praesul."

Of parochial clergy only half a dozen have been recorded for the reign—

Acle, Norfolk, 1627, Thos. Stones, demi.

Upper Boddington, Northants., 1627, Wm. Procter, rector.

Abergavenny, Monm., 1631, Maurice Hughes, vicar.

Bigby, Lincs., 1632, Edw. Nayler, rector, and wife, kn.

Weston Colville, Cambs., 1636, Abr. Pates, rector, and wife, qd. pl.

Husbands Bosworth, Leics., 1648, Rice Jem, rector.

One more bishop is commemorated, but only by a mitre and inscription. This is for Arthur Lake, D.D., Bishop of Bath and Wells, in Wells Cathedral, 1626; and there are two other "mitre brasses" in the years to come, one in 1650, for John Prideaux, D.D., Bishop of Worcester, at Bredon, Worcester, and the last in 1661, in Westminster Abbey, for Henry Ferne, S.T.D., Bishop of Chester.

There is now a complete change in civilian costume. The long gown is given up, and gentlemen appear in tunics with falling collars, knee-breeches, stockings, shoes or high jack-boots, and a short cloak fastened loosely at the neck. Ladies have at the same time abandoned the farthingale and the *bonne-grace*, and generally wear more graceful gowns, with ruffs or falling collars, and a light veil over the head.

Armour is seldom worn, and then chiefly in demi-suits, consisting merely of the cuirass, connected with laminated plates to protect the thighs, and small knee-pieces. Tassets were no longer required when trunk-hose had been abandoned, and the tall jack-boots did away with the necessity for defences for the legs and feet. But a good many variations occur amongst the examples now given—

Dinton, Bucks., 1628, Simon Mayne, Esq., and wife.

Newington-juxta-Hythe, Kent, 1630, Hen. Brockman, Esq., and wife.

St. Columb, Cornwall, *c.* 1630, Sir John Arundel and wife.

Sotterley, Suffolk, *c.* 1630, Christopher Playters, Esq.

Compton Verney, Warw., *c.* 1630, Geo. Verney, Esq.

Kettering, Northants., 1631, Edm. Sawyer and wife, qd. pl.

St. Columb, Cornwall, 1633, John Arundel and wife.

Harlow, Essex, 1636, Rich. Bugges, Esq., and two wives.

Loughton, Essex, 1637, Abel Guilliams, gent., and wife.

Cardington, Beds., 1638, Sir Jarrate Harveye and wife.

Penn, Bucks., 1638, Wm. Pen, Esq., and wife.

East Sutton, Kent, 1638, Sir Edw. Filmer and wife, qd. pl.

St. Michael Penkevil, Cornwall, *c.* 1640, John Boscawen, Esq., qd. pl.

Penn, Bucks., 1641, John Pen, Esq., and wife.

Shepton Mallett, Somerset, 1649, Wm. Strode, Esq., and wife, qd. pl.

A few brasses besides that of Archbishop Harsnett still have marginal inscriptions, and are therefore of more consequence than the rest. Two of the best are to be seen at Teynham, 1639, and Ash-next-Sandwich, 1642, both in Kent. Another, to George Coles and his two wives, 1640, at St. Sepulchre's, Northampton, is worth

quoting more particularly. The man is in the usual costume of tunic, breeches, and hose, with loose cloak, falling collar, and large bows to shoes and garters. His wives are in tall, broad-brimmed hats, ruffs, pointed stomachers, and plain skirts. There are also two plates of children, and an emblem of two hands joined together. A rectangular plate bears the following words—

“Farewell true friend Reader Understand
By this mysterious knott of hand in hand
This Emblem doth (what friends must fayle to doe)
Relate our Friendshipp and its firmnes too
Such was our love not time but death doth sever
Our Mortall parts but our Immortall never
All things doe vanish here belowe above
Such as our life is there such is our love.”

And the marginal inscription, both being in plain capitals—“Here resteth y^e body of Mr. George | Coles of Northampton wth his 2 wives Sarah and Eleanor by whom he had 12 | children he gave to pious uses | xi^l yearely for ever to this towne and deceased y^e first of January 1640.”

This was, of course, a time when point lace was much worn, but it is seldom attempted on brasses. Reference, however, may be made to the small brass of Thomas Holl, at Heigham, Norfolk, 1630. But for the execrable drawing—a series of feeble scratches upon the metal—the figure would be valuable, as showing us the finished beau of the time of Charles I. He has long, carefully crimped hair, a lace neckband, a scarf, and laced edges to his boots, with a ridiculous little sword fastened at his left side. The brass was doubtless the work of a “local artist.”

Regular provincial schools of engraving are not to be looked for. Nevertheless, particular brasses must often have been made locally and in unsuitable places. In this manner, Quethiock, in Cornwall, has a very curious “local” brass, mural in the south transept of the church, to Richard Chiverton and his wife, 1631. The component plates are arranged in a large slab of Cornish slate, with an ornamental carved border, such as is extremely common throughout the eastern part of the county. The principal figures are each about 18 inches in height, in the usual dresses of the period, and with scrolls round their heads, the one, “Richard Chiverton Esquire dyed the 28 day of iuly a.d. 1617,” and the other, “Isabell his wife the 25 day

of May 1631." A shield of arms bears a castle embattled, impaling a saltire invecked ermine. The children, six sons and five daughters, are all on one plate, with very peculiar and ugly heads, and no feet. There are two sets of verses, engraved separately, which are also peculiar, and yet in some sense typical, at any rate of the feeling and taste of the age—

"Friends (who ere you be) forbear
On this stone to shed a teare
Keepe thine oyntement for indeede
Bountye is made good by neede
Here are they whose amber eyes
Have embalmed the obsequies
Who will thicke you doe them wronge
Offeringe what to them belonge
Besides this their sacred shrine
Sleights the myrrhe of others eyene
Then forbear when these growe dry
We will weepe both thou and I."

The second, which is below the lady, is more emblematic—

"My birth was in the moneth of May
And in that moneth my nuptiall day
In May a Mayde a Wife a Mother
And now in May nor one nor other
So flowers floarish soe they fade
So things to be undone are made
My stalke here withers yet there bee
Some lovely branches sproute from mee
On w^{ch} bestowe thine Aprill rayne
So they the livelier may remayne
But heere forbear for why tis sayd
Teares fit the livinge not the dead."

A figure very similar to that of Isabel Chiverton, and of about the same date, is in the church of St. Mary Magdalen, Launceston, and is here illustrated. The engraver of both brasses was probably a silversmith in the town of Launceston.

The only other Caroline memorials that need be mentioned are a couple of "Cradle-brasses" at Windsor Castle, in St. George's Chapel, dated 1630 and 1633, to the children of Dr. John King. The first of them is sufficiently explained by its illustration, and the inscription will be seen to be a characteristic one. The second is of the same type, with the addition of a coat-of-arms bearing a lion



A LADY, c. 1630
LAUNCESTON, CORNWALL

rampant crowned between 3 cross crosslets, and a skull engraved upon the side of the cradle, which is without rockers.

APPENDIX (2)

THE LAST FEW BRASSES

It is not to be expected that many brasses would be laid down during the years of the Commonwealth, from 1649 to 1660. In fact, omitting inscriptions, there are only about a dozen, of which a list may be given. Possibly there may be a few others, at this time and later, which have not been recorded, for comparatively little interest has ever been taken in these last few brasses. Of the earliest brasses every example is well known; of the latest, some may easily have been passed over. And yet it is surely interesting to trace the last stages of the decay, as well as the first steps, of an art so long and so closely connected with the history and antiquities of England.

The following, then, are the known Commonwealth brasses:—

Middleton, Lancs., 1650, Ralph Assheton Esq., in armour, and wife.
 Calbourne, Isle of Wight, 1652, Dan. Evance, rector, qd. pl.
 Cliffe, Kent, 1652, Bonham Faunce, gent., and two wives.
 Haverfordwest, Pemb., 1654, John Davids, Esq., qd. pl.
 Clovelly, Devon, 1655, Anne Cary, child.
 Kirkheaton, Yorks., 1655, Adam Beaumont Esq., in armour, and wife.
 Hacombe, Devon, 1656, Thos. Carewe Esq., and wife, qd. pl.
 Boston, Lincs., 1657, Thos. Lawe, mayor, demi.
 Sheriff Hutton, Yorks., 1657, Mary Hall.
 Halton Holgate, Lincs., 1658, Bridget Rugeley, kn.
 Llanrwst, Denbigh, 1658, Lady Mary Mostyn.
 Barwell, Leics., 1659, Rich. Breton, gent., and wife.

The Calbourne brass does not present an effigy of the rector named, but only drawings of Time and Death, with an inscription upon a quadrangular plate. At Clovelly the Cary child is accompanied by a skeleton leaning on a spade.

Of the two men in armour the first, Ralph Assheton, Esq., of Middleton, was a very prominent leader upon the Puritan side in the Civil Wars, and is frequently alluded to in the current news-



CRADLE-BRASS TO DOROTHY KING, 1630
 ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR CASTLE

letters and in the despatches of Cromwell and others. He sat as Member for Lancashire in the Parliament which met on November 3, 1640, and two years later was appointed a deputy-lieutenant for the county, and afterwards major-general of the Parliamentary forces and commander-in-chief. He is represented as standing, in a swaggering attitude, with his left hand upon his hip and his right holding a bâton, before a kind of niche with semi-circular head. His armour is a demi-suit, consisting of a skirted cuirass, large pauldrons, elbow-pieces, and laminar cuissarts continued right down to the tops of his boots. His wife, in a very plain gown and veil, stands in a similar niche.

Adam Beaumont, Esq., at Kirkheaton, was Assheton's son-in-law, having married his eldest daughter Elizabeth. He and his wife are small 14-inch figures and very poorly engraved. His armour is of the same type; at his right hand kneels his infant son. The lady carries a baby in her arms, and is attended by her elder daughter. Beaumont was, no doubt, also a good Puritan, and "dyed in y^e Lord 17^o 9^{bris} 1655. & of his age 25." A shield above the figures bears (*Gules*) a lion rampant (*argent*) armed and langued (*azure*) within an orle of crescents (*of the second*) for Beaumont, impaling (*Argent*) on a mullet (*sable*) an annulet (*or*), for Ashton.

From 1660 to the end of the century the following brasses have been recorded:—

Milton, Cambs., 1660, John Harris and wife.

Llanrwst, Denbigh, 1660, 1669, 1671, Sir Owen Wynne, Kath. Lewis, and Dame Sarah Wynne.

Bawburgh, Norfolk, 1660, Philip Tenison, S.T.P., in shroud.

St. Mary's Bedford, 1663, Mary Thorne and three daughters.

Norbury, Staffs., 1667, John Skrymsher, qd. pl.

Great Bookham, Surrey, 1668, Robt. Shiers, Esq.

Thornton Watlass, Yorks., 1669, Shrouded effigy on tomb.

Long Itchington, Warw., 1674, John Bosworth, yeoman, and two wives, qd. pl.

Great Chart, Kent, 1680, Nich. Toke, Esq., and three daughters, kn.

Marsworth, Bucks., 1681, Edm. West, serjeant-at-law, in armour, and wife, qd. pl.

Little Wittenham, Berks., 1683, Ann Dunch, child, qd. pl.

Bassingbourn, Cambs., 1683, Edw. Turpin, gent., and wife.

Pimperne, Dorset, 1694, Dorothy Williams, qd. pl.

The Llanrwst brasses are part of an interesting series of six, all being lozenge-shaped plates now framed and glazed, and most of them showing only the busts of the persons commemorated. The first is Sir John Wynne, 1620, the next his wife, 1632, the third his eldest daughter Lady Mary Mostyn, 1658, and the others as in the above list.

The brass at St. Mary's, Bedford, once more introduces us to history. It is one of three rectangular plates, an inscription to William Thorne, 1640, Mary Thorne and three daughters, 1663, which is the only one on which figures are engraved, and a shield with inscription to "Giles Thorne D^r in Divinity chaplaine in Ordinary to King Charls y^e 2^d Arch Deacon of Buckingham and Rector of St Maries and St Peters heare in Bedford who Deceased June y^e 23. 1671." In 1642 the Justices of the Peace and inhabitants of Bedford petitioned for his removal "as a turbulent and profane person." On September 10 of that year he "spoke in favour of Confession," and was committed to the Fleet on the evidence of one witness only. He remained in prison five years, and was discharged in August, 1647.

Robert Shiers, of Great Bookham, who is illustrated, is fairly typical of the style of the period.

At Long Itchington, Warw., beneath the kneeling figures of John Bosworth and his wives, drawn in debased style upon a plate about 2 feet 2 inches square, there is a lengthy inscription recording gifts of lands and the foundation of several charities. It ends with four verses particularly characteristic in their closing words of the self-righteousness of pious persons of that age.

" All you that passe mee by
As you are now soe once was I
As I am now soe shall you bee
Remember the poore & imitate mee."

Nicholas Toke of Great Chart, 1680, is shown kneeling on a cushion, and in Jacobean armour with tassets, but with a falling collar and long hair. His figure was, perhaps, copied from an earlier brass, for his three daughters, on a separate plate, are evidently of very late work; they kneel upon cushions, and hold books in their hands, together with a rose, a lily-stem, and a palm-branch.



ROBERT SHIERS, ESQ., 1668
GREAT BOOKHAM, SURREY

The eighteenth century apparently has but four brasses, as follows :—

Leigh, Essex, 1709, John Price, Naval Commander, and wife.

St. Peter's, Leeds, Yorks., 1709, John Massie and family.

Newark, Notts., 1715, Thos. Lund, mayor.

St. Mary Cray, Kent, 1773, Benjamin Greenwood, Esq., qd. pl., and Philadelphia Greenwood, qd. pl.

John Price was born at Cardiff, and became a commander of several ships of war under William III. The Leeds brass of the same date is a plate having in the upper part the effigies of seven children. The figures are very rudely engraved, and range in height from 5 to $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches. In the centre is a shield of arms, with helmet crest and mantling. The inscription sets out very fully the exact ages of the children, together with the day of birth and day of death. The whole is enclosed in a floriated border, with cherubs' heads at the corners.

The Nottinghamshire mayor is accompanied by a skeleton, an hourglass, and other devices.

The last two brasses stand quite by themselves, and are small rectangular plates upon separate gravestones. They were evidently engraved at the same time, and each has a pair of cherubs in the upper corners. Benjamin Greenwood died in 1773, and wears the Georgian costume of knee-breeches, long figured waistcoat, and a coat with open skirts. His right hand points to a three-masted ship, and his left to a skull. His wife died in 1747, and has a plain gown and a veil. Both are but feebly scratched upon the metal.

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSION

BRASSES AND DESPOILED SLABS

THE lamentable destruction of brasses at the period of the suppression of the monasteries and during the years which followed has already been considered in the tenth chapter, and it was pointed out that the parish churches did not escape the ravages caused by the greed and bigotry of those times. Two illustrations will now suffice.

In Nightingale's *Church Plate of Wiltshire* the following note is cited from the churchwardens' accounts of the church of St. Thomas the Martyr at Salisbury. "1547-8. Item, for brasse which was upon graves and tombes of brasse and a laver of brasse altogether weynge 11 c at xviii the hundred S'ma xxxvi s."

Very similarly at Thame in Oxfordshire, where there are still eleven brasses of great interest, there is sufficient evidence that many more have been lost in the past. In the churchwardens' accounts for 1550 the following significant entry may be found:—"It'm for lxxxii^{li} of Brasse and lattayns sold to Young the Brasyer after the rat of 11d. p^r pound xiiis. vid."

These are of the early spoliations, and instances might be easily multiplied. Haines has mentioned a great many in the closing pages of his Introductory volume, and it is unnecessary to repeat what he has said already. Nearly every other writer upon the subject has also a number of pitiable instances of spoliation and loss.

Nor was it confined to the age of the Reformation. A further wave of fanatical destruction swept over the churches during the Civil War and the Commonwealth, when commissioners were appointed by the Parliament in every county to "reform" the parish churches. The excuse generally made for destroying brasses was that they included "Superstitious inscriptions," and it is therefore a common matter to find the opening and closing clauses, which contain prayers for the soul, often to have been wholly or partially erased by friends or descendants of the persons commemorated, in order to save them from the hands of the commissioners. This is particularly the case in London and its neighbourhood. There was also much loss of brasses throughout the eighteenth century, chiefly through carelessness and neglect, utter ignorance of the value of such memorials, and lack of consideration for all sacred things.

Again two or three instances must suffice. Durham Cathedral, like most of the other cathedrals of England, is now totally despoiled of its brasses, though formerly it could boast a large and beautiful series. Three times it has suffered spoliation. The first was by the iconoclastic zeal of William Whittingham, who held the Deanery from 1563 to 1579. Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, vol. i. p. 154, says of him: "He also defaced all such stones as had any picture of brass or other imagery work, or chalices wrought upon them, and the residue he took away, and employed them to his own use, and did make a washing house of them." The *Rites of Durham*, 1593, Surtees Soc., vol. xv., also contains an account of the destruction wrought by him.

Such of the monuments as had escaped the reforming dean were mutilated in 1640 by the Scots, when they invaded England after the repulse of the Royal army at Stella Haugh; when, with poetic justice, the inscription on a brass over the grave of Dean Whittingham was torn away. Ten years later the tombs again suffered, being defaced by the Scotch prisoners

confined in the cathedral after the battle of Dunbar. To the destruction wrought by war and rebellion there was added also the Vandalism of ignorant "restoration," for in the repairing of the cathedral, which was carried out during the seventeenth century, many of the interesting matrices perished, only three now remaining.

The final destruction of the brasses, however, took place in 1799, and is recorded in Fordyce's *History of Durham*, vol. i. p. 283; the Chapter House then "was held to be too large, and doomed to destruction, for no other purpose than to make a comfortable room. Accordingly a man was suspended by tackle above the groining, and knocked out the keystone, when the whole fell, and crushed the paved floor, rich with gravestones, and brasses of the bishops and priors, not one of the inscriptions of which had been copied or preserved in any form."

Of Lincoln Cathedral, Evelyn writes in 1654 that "The soldiers had lately knocked off most of the brasses from the gravestones; they went in with axes and hammers, and shut themselves in till they had rent and torn off some barge-loads of metal." This was simply for plunder, and in a later tablet on the wall of the west porch the men are referred to as "Cromwellii flagitiosus grex." The antiquary Browne Willis, in *A Survey of the Cathedrals of Lincoln, Ely, Oxford, and Peterboro'*, says that in 1718 he counted "about 207 matrices." He also states that the epitaphs as they remained in 1641 were near 150, nearly a third more than were in Old St. Paul's, and more than were in York. In 1782 the repaving of the cathedral was begun; and before 1791 all the matrices had disappeared, or were removed into the choir aisles and cloisters, where a large number still remain.

A single parish church, that of St. Margaret's, King's Lynn, shall supply a further example of eighteenth-century loss. In 1738 a list of the brasses was published in Mackerell's *History of Lynn*. There were eleven figure-brasses and twenty-three

inscriptions, of which there are now left only the two great foreign plates of Walsokne and Braunche, and three inscriptions. In 1741 the beautiful spire of the church, 244 feet in height, was blown down on to the roof of the nave in a dreadful storm. This caused a complete rebuilding of the nave. On June 17, 1742, it was "resolved that eighteen pence be paid to the contractors for every grave stone they have taken up." On May 16, 1746, "it was ordered that the Old Brass and Old Iron be immediately sold by the Churchwardens," and in the November following "that no grave stones be laid down in any part of the Church." The Walsokne and Braunche brasses were then in the choir, and thus happily escaped. The equally magnificent brass of Robert Attelath and his wife, 1376, was also still preserved in 1780, when an impression of part of it, now in the British Museum, was taken by Craven Ord. A few years later it was "given out of the church by the churchwardens to a person who sold it for five shillings to a brass-founder." One more brass survived till the year 1800, when it was stolen by a sexton, who was charged with his fault, and threatened with the loss of his place; in consequence of this he hanged himself in the belfry.

The fate of most stolen brasses was to be melted down by tinkers and brasiers, but occasionally they were used for alien purposes. Thus, at York Minster a turret which had been erected upon the lantern tower in 1666 was demolished in 1803. It was surmounted by a weathercock, and this was found to have been entirely constructed out of a large brass inscription, which is now preserved in the vestry.

Another inscription at Royston, Herts., was found in 1891 doing duty as the door-scraper of a house, and was removed to the Archæological Museum at Cambridge, but is now replaced in Royston Church. A third brass, part of a foreign plate, had been made into a sundial, and was exhibited at the Bristol meeting of the Archæological Institute in 1851, though its whereabouts is now unknown. And, once again, the Surrey

Archæological Society possesses an interesting quadrangular brass to a knight and lady of the Compton family, *c.* 1500, and bearing their badge and motto several times repeated, a fire-beacon, and the words, "So have I cause," which came originally from Netley Abbey, Hants., and was found in a cottage at the back of a fireplace, blackened, but uninjured.

After such repeated losses, and especially the systematic destruction of the Protestant and Puritan iconoclasms of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the marvel is that so many brasses should still remain.

Mr. Belcher has illustrated more than seven hundred in Kent alone, and Mr. Farrer has recorded over one thousand for Norfolk. These numbers, of course, include inscriptions, which in the Norfolk list are in a proportion of about three to one to figure-brasses, the county being practically complete. It is interesting to notice how brasses are distributed throughout England. In the first place, it is in the country churches that they are chiefly, indeed, almost exclusively, found, simply because it was the out-of-the-way places that escaped the Protestant fury. At the same time the general distribution of brasses has been found to follow marked geographical lines. They are most numerous in the country round London, and to the north and west of the metropolis, the eastern counties coming next. Taking the number of square miles in each county in relation to the number of existing brasses, Middlesex, Herts., Bedford, Buckingham, and Oxford will come first. They are followed by the three counties nearest to London on the south, Kent, Surrey, and Berkshire; then the counties of Essex and Suffolk, and then Norfolk, Cambridge, and Northamptonshire, counties lying at some distance from London and on the outskirts of the main group. After these we have a group of counties which form a complete semi-circle round the first, and then the further from London the fewer the brasses. Cornwall is a partial exception, apparently because it escaped a good deal of the spoilation, being

essentially Catholic in the early days, and loyal to church and king in the seventeenth century.

Of individual counties, Kent on the one hand, and Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex on the other, have actually the largest number of brasses, but in each case the area is considerable. Oxford and Buckingham follow, and then Hertfordshire, small in size, but rich in brasses.

Besides brasses, there still remain a very great number of despoiled slabs, which are often of the highest value. In both the earlier spoliations, except where entire churches were destroyed, as were those of the monasteries, the gravestones, robbed of their brasses, were still themselves left in their places. And thus they still fulfilled a primary object of their existence, which was to cover and mark the resting-places of the dead. In fact, it may be said that it was the stone which was of the first importance, the essence of the memorial, while the brass-work was only its accident. Apart from the stone, the brass was almost meaningless, and therefore most early inscriptions began with the words "Hic jacet," or "Gist ici." The irreparable destruction of the gravestones was reserved for more modern times, beginning with the eighteenth century, and, unhappily, continuing in some degree to the present time; for in these latter days the opposite tendency has greatly prevailed, to "preserve" the brasses, and to destroy the stones in which they were set, and without which they often lose half their value and most of their meaning. Strange though it may seem, a large responsibility must be laid at the door of the revival of Gothic architecture, and the too great zeal for what is called "thorough restoration" which accompanied it. The architects and clergy of the last two generations have unfortunately wrought much havoc amongst the art and antiquities of the times whose memory they wished to preserve; and it is the more surprising when we remember that the engraving and setting of monumental brasses was just one of those arts which were most closely connected

with the rise and fall of ancient Gothic architecture in England.

The value of brasses and slabs alike, separately or in combination, was too often altogether unrecognized. They were allowed to go the way of high-backed deal pews, churchwarden wood-mullioned windows, obstructive galleries, or bed-post communion rails. A conventional flooring of pretty tiles, the insertion of a heating apparatus, the building of an organ in a side aisle or chapel instead of in a proper chamber, the undue raising of an altar ; any excuse has been deemed sufficient, and valuable—nay, priceless—memorials have been cast out into churchyards or broken up for building purposes, treated as things of no worth.

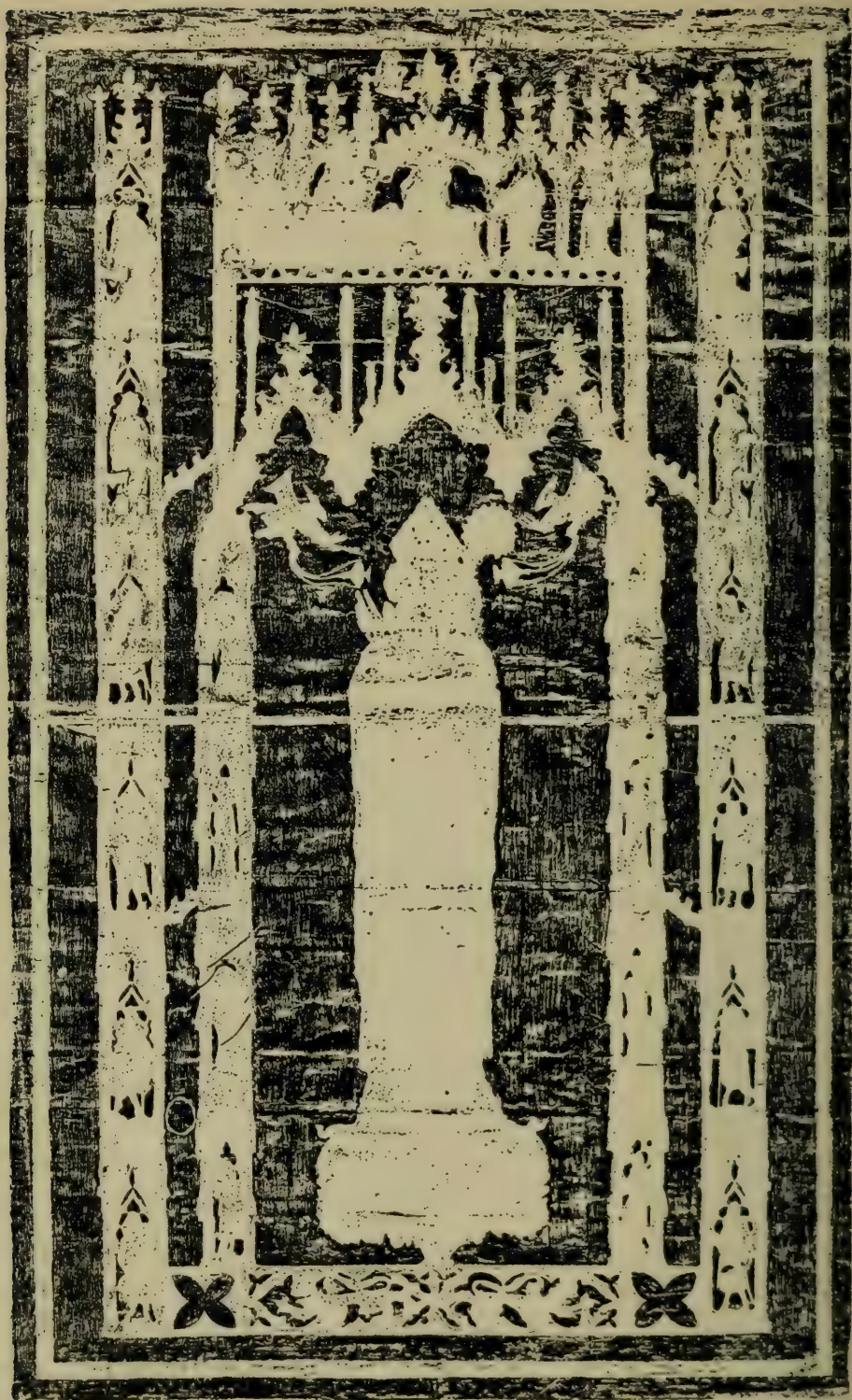
Even when the brasses, or fragments of them, received by chance a little grudging recognition, they were often incontinently nailed or cemented to some neighbouring wall, where, being usually out of place, they cease even to be objects of beauty. An entire set would rarely be preserved, though it might include canopies, labels, shields-of-arms, and other most precious and instructive accessories. Moreover, the place chosen would as likely as not be some dark vestry, as at Camberwell, under Sir Gilbert Scott ; or beneath an organ loft, as at St. John's College, Cambridge, under the same architect ; or hidden away in a crypt, as very recently at Truro Cathedral, under no less modern an architect than Mr. Pearson.

But times are again changing, and we begin to know the worth even of our despoiled slabs. It is not too late to mend. Those that remain are like ancient rings which have lost their jewels, but should be prized for the value of their settings. But it is still very necessary for antiquaries to continue to strive after an improved public opinion in the matter, especially amongst clergy and architects. The process is slow, and it is necessary at once to stop, if possible, the tearing up of brasses to be nailed upon walls, or otherwise misused, and

the destruction of the gravestones to which they belong. Many slabs are of great antiquity, and some are unique. They also are still fairly abundant, in a proportion of at least three to two in regard to existing brasses.

A considerable number of the despoiled slabs of England are still uncatalogued and practically unknown, while others are beginning to receive the attention they deserve. Matrices of early cross-legged knights, for instance, are recorded at Emneth, Norfolk, *c.* 1290, with a canopy like that of Margarete de Camoys (*cf.* p. 28), but surmounted by a fine tabernacle at the finial, at Norton Disney, Linc., *c.* 1290, at Hawton, Notts., 1308, and at Aston Rowant, Oxon., 1314. Another cross-legged knight, only 28 inches in length, and upon a bracket, is indented upon a slab at Lynwode, in Lincolnshire. A unique series of extremely large cross brasses, with shrines at the foot, and kneeling figures, can still be traced in Ely Cathedral. Two very early bishops, of the years 1247 and 1256, are recorded at Salisbury. The first is Robert Bingham, and his brass occupied a raised tomb in the north aisle of the choir, surmounted by a rich architectural canopy. His stone slab retains the outline of a large floriated cross, bearing at the intersection of its limbs the demi-figure of a bishop, surrounded by four lozenges, on which were probably the evangelistic symbols. The whole of the crozier is introduced, arranged in an almost parallel line with the stem of the cross. Bingham's successor, William of York, has a similar tomb upon the opposite side of the choir, with a demi-figure and crozier indented in the stone, but no cross.

And finally—and a description of this matrix, taken from an article by the Rev. H. E. Field in the *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, may well form a fitting conclusion to a volume upon the brasses of England—there is the glorious slab at Durham, which once contained the brass of Bishop Beaumont, larger and perhaps more beautiful than anything which now survives. Its size is more than 15 feet in length



DESPOILED SLAB OF BISHOP BEAUMONT
DURHAM CATHEDRAL

by nearly 10 feet in breadth, and the superb matrix, still lying in the choir of the cathedral, is in excellent preservation, and carefully protected by a thick carpet, though every fragment of the brass is gone. It is minutely described in *The Rites of Durham*, a book written apparently towards the end of the sixteenth century by one who had been an inmate of the monastery :—

“Ludovick de Bellomonte, Bishopp of Durham, lyeth buried before the High Altar in the Quire, beneath the steppes that goe upp to the said High Altar, under a most curious and sumptuous marble stonn, which hee prepared for himselfe before hee dyed, beinge adorned with most excellent workmanshipp of brasse, wherein he was most excellently and lively pictured, as hee was accustomed to singe or say masse, with his mitre on his head and his crosiers staffe in his hand, with two angells very finely pictured, one of the one side of his head and the other on the other side, with censors in theire hands sensing him, conteining most exquisite pictures and images of the twelve Apostles devided and bordered of either side of him, and next them is bordered on either side of the twelve Apostles in another border the pictures of his ancestors in theire coat armour, beinge of the bloud royale of France and his owne armes of France, beinge a white lyon placed uppon the breast of his vestment, beneath his verses of his breast, with flower de luces about the lyon, two lyons pictured one under the one foote of him and another under the other of him, supportinge and holdinge up his crosier's staffe, his feete adjoyninge and standinge uppon the said lyons, and other two lyons beneath them in the nethermost border of all, beinge most artificially wrought and sett forth all in brasse. Marveilously beautifyinge the said through of marble: wherein was engraven in brasse such divine and celestiall sayinge of the Scripture which he had peculiarly selected for his spirituall consolation, at such time as it should please God to call him out of his mortalitie.”

To this description the lines on the matrix exactly correspond. Bishop Beaumont was elected in 1317 and died in 1333, leaving no trace of his episcopate in the fabric of the

cathedral, other than his magnificent brass, the loss of which we now deplore. Nor was Beaumont the only bishop of Durham to be commemorated in this fashion. Walter de Skirlawe ruled the see from 1388 to 1405, and his tomb, which has entirely disappeared, is thus described in the same *Rites of Durham* :—

“In the North Allye of the Quire, betwixt two pillars on the south side, before Saint Blese Altar (afterwards called Skirlawe’s Altar), lieth buried Walter Skirlawe, Bishopp of Durham, under a faire marble stone very sumptuously besett with many brasen images, having his owne image most artificially portred in brasse in the midst thereof, with this sainge engraven uppon his brest :

‘Credo quod redemptor meus vivit et in die novissimo de terra surrecturus sum et in carne mea videbo deum salvatorem meum.’

“The place of his sepulcher was in antient tyme invyround with irons artificially wrought, but of late tyme his body was taken upp and interr’d before the High Altar and the same stone layde over hym, and a stall or pewe placed theire for gentlewomen to sitt in.”

An alternative reading states that only the stone was removed, not his body. Unlike Beaumont, he was a man of mark, and one of the greatest builders of his day.

INDEX OF PLACES

Every brass mentioned in the preceding pages is indexed under its county and place-name, and with its known or approximate date. The index is thus also a guide to the most interesting brasses in each county.

Bedfordshire—

Ampthill, 1450, 167; 1520, 233
 Aspley Guise, 1410, 124; 1490, 194
 Bedford, St. Mary, 1663, 302, 303
 St. Paul, 3, 4; 1573, 276
 Biddenham, 1530, 214
 Bromham, 1435, 152, 266
 Cardington, 1540, 231; 1638, 296
 Cople, 1410, 180; 1415, 163; 1520, 225; 1544, 178, 231; 1556, 239; 1563, 180
 Dean, 1501, 116
 Dunstable, 1450, 163, 167; 1640, 246
 Eaton Socon, 1400, 161
 Elstow, 1525, 131, 133
 Eyworth, 1624, 280, 281
 Flitton, 1545, 225
 Holwell, 1515, 204
 Houghton Conquest, 1493, 220, 222; 1500, 221
 Houghton Regis, 1506, 106
 Luton, 1510, 116; 1513, 225
 Marston Morteyne, 1451, 157
 Northill, 1532, 225
 Pottesgrove, 1563, 258
 Shillington, 1400, 120
 Sutton, 1516, 82
 Tilbrook, 1400, 161
 Totternhoe, 1524, 106
 Turvey, 1500, 116
 Wimington, 1391, 58, 167, 171; 1430, 147, 152; 1510, 106
 Yelden, 1434, 105; 1617, 287

Berkshire—

Abingdon, 1501, 140
 Appleton, 1518, 214
 Ashbury, 1360, 56; 1409, 120; 1448, 122

Berkshire—continued.

Binfield, 1558, 131, 256
 Bisham, 253
 Blewbury, 1496, 105; 1523, 230; 1548, 240
 Bray, 1378, 8, 52, 55, 75; 1475, 176; 1600, 286
 Brightwell, 1507, 106
 Childrey, 1444, 44, 192; 1480, 105; 1490, 105; 1507, 213, 234; 1514, 234; 1520, 214, 234; 1529, 141
 Cookham, 1577, 259
 Denchworth, 1562, 253
 Farringdon, 1471, 173, 198; 1547, 240
 Hanney, W., 1370, 75; 1557, 239; 1599, 277
 Hurst, 1600, 284
 Lambourn, 1485, 230
 Reading, St. Laurence, 1538, 254
 St. Mary, 1416, 82
 Shottesbrooke, 1370, 58, 104, 126; 1401, 163; 1511, 223
 Sparsholt, 1360, 79, 80, 104
 Swallowfield, 1554, 239
 Tidmarsh, 1500, 230
 Tilehurst, 1469, 200
 Wantage, 1350, 14; 1414, 150; 1510, 140
 Welford, 1490, 140
 Windsor Castle, 275; St. George's Chapel, 1475, 192, 194; 1522, 73, 118, 218, 219; 1630, 298, 301; 1633, 298
 Wittenham, Little, 1433, 105; 1454, 200; 1472, 198; 1483, 200; 1585, 277, 278; 1683, 302

Buckinghamshire—

Amersham, 1430, 162; 1439, 162

Buckinghamshire—*continued.*

Aylesbury, 255
 Bletchley, 1616, 287, 288
 Caversfield, 1533, 207
 Chalfont St. Peter, 1446, 162 ; 1545, 106, 267
 Chenies, 1469, 200 ; 1510, 210, 227
 Chesham Bois, 1520, 228 ; 1552, 239
 Chicheley, 1558, 168, 171 ; 1560, 215
 Claydon, Middle, 1542, 225
 Clifton Keynes, 1500, 213
 Crawley, North, 1589, 286
 Datchet, 1593, 244
 Denham, 284 ; 1440, 131, 133 ; 1540, 131, 133 ; 1545, 255
 Dinton, 1551, 239 ; 1628, 296
 Drayton Beauchamp, 1368, 52, 53, 54
 Emberton, 1410, 105
 Eton College, 1489, 116 ; 1503, 116 ; 1522, 123 ; 1525, 141 ; 1535, 106 ; 1540, 124 ; 1545, 141
 Haddenham, 1420, 105
 Halton, 1553, 180
 Hampden, Great, 1525, 225 ; 1553, 239
 Haversham, 1605, 215
 Hedgerley, 1540, 235, 254
 Hitcham, 1551, 239
 Hitchendon, 1493, 105
 Horwood, Great, 1487, 140
 Iver, 1508, 222
 Lillingstone Dayrell, 1491, 222
 Linford, Great, 1473, 200
 Marsworth, 1681, 302
 Milton Keynes, 1427, 105
 Penn, 1540, 214 ; 1638, 296 ; 1641, 296
 Quainton, 1360, 55 ; 1422, 122 ; 1485, 122
 Risborough, Monks, 1431, 105
 Shalton, 1540, 131
 Taplow, 1350, 47, 79, 80 ; 1455, 211 ; 1540, 225, 256
 Thornton, 1472, 72, 180, 184, 185, 188, 195
 Tingewick, 1608, 287, 292
 Turweston, 1450, 105
 Twyford, 1550, 239
 Upton, 1472, 211 ; 1517, 225 ; 1599, 277
 Waddesdon, 1548, 214, 238
 Whaddon, 1519, 180
 Winchendon, Over, 1515, 131, 133
 Wooburn, 1519, 123 ; 1520, 214, 234, 247

Cambridgeshire—

Balsham, 1401, 71, 120, 127, 128 ; 1462, 70, 122, 185
 Bassingbourn, 1683, 302
 Burwell, 1542, 108, 131, 132, 238, 265
 Cambridge—
 Archæological Museum, 309
 Fitzwilliam Museum, 50
 Christ's College, 1540, 141
 King's College, 1496, 137, 140 ; 1507, 137, 140 ; 1528, 118 ; 1558, 118
 Queens' College, 1535, 141
 St. John's College, 312 ; 1410, 139
 Trinity Hall, 1517, 123, 127 ; 1530, 141
 St. Benet, 1432, 137, 139
 St. Mary-the-Less, 1440, 140 ; 1480, 140
 Croxton, 1589, 286, 287
 Ely Cathedral, 71, 78, 313 ; 1554, 112, 239 ; 1614, 287, 288 ; 1616, 247
 Fulbourn, 1391, 69, 120, 126 ; 1477, 105
 Girton, 1492, 122 ; 1497, 122
 Hildersham, 1379, 79, 80, 81 ; 1466, 187, 190 ; 1530, 214
 Hinxton, 1416, 152
 Horseheath, 1382, 52
 Impington, 1505, 230
 Isleham, 1484, 185, 188
 March, 1517, 230, 235
 Milton, 1553, 180 ; 1660, 302
 Quy, 1465, 187, 192
 Sawston, 1500, 213
 Shelford, Great, 1418, 122, 127
 Shelford, Little, 1480, 140
 Stapleford, 1617, 287
 Trumpington, 1289, 14, 18, 22
 Westley Waterless, 1325, 14, 23, 24, 25, 33
 Weston Colville, 1636, 295
 Wilbraham, Little, 1521, 136, 141
 Wilburton, 1477, 122
 Wimpole, 1501, 123
 Wood Ditton, 1393, 54
 Cheshire—
 Chester, Holy Trinity, 1545, 154, 256
 Macclesfield, 1506, 233
 Over, 1510, 223
 Wilmslow, 1460, 187, 190
 Wybunbury, 1513, 225
 Cornwall—
 Anthony, East, 1420, 158

Cornwall—*continued.*

Blisland, 1410, 106
 Callington, 1465, 176
 Cardynham, 1400, 124
 St. Columb Major, 1545, 226 ; 1630, 296 ; 1633, 296
 Constantine, 1574, 259
 Crowan, 1420, 162
 Illogan, 1603, 277
 St. Just, 1520, 123
 Lanherne Nunnery, 263
 Lanteglos - by - Fowey, 1440, 156 ; 1525, 225
 Launceston, 1630, 298, 299
 Mawgan-in-Pyder, 263
 St. Mellion, 1551, 239
 St. Michael Penkevil, 1497, 222 ; 1515, 141 ; 1640, 296
 Quethiok, 1471, 200 ; 1631, 297
 Stratton, 1561, 276
 Truro Cathedral, 312
 Wendron, 1535, 123

Cumberland—

Carlisle Cathedral, 1496, 112 ; 1616, 73, 110, 290
 Crosthwaite, 1527, 225
 Edenhall, 1458, 192
 Greystoke, 1526, 118

Derbyshire—

Ashbourn, 1538, 217, 231
 Ashover, 1507, 222 ; 1510, 106, 205
 Chesterfield, 1529, 231
 Darley, 1654, 34
 Dronfield, 1399, 106
 Etwall, 1512, 234 ; 1557, 240
 Hathersage, 1463, 187 ; 1500, 230 ; 1560, 240
 Kedleston, 1496, 222
 Morley, 1450, 166 ; 1470, 188, 190, 191, 193 ; 1558, 270, 271
 Mugginton, 1475, 188, 194
 Norbury, 1538, 178, 254
 Sawley, 1510, 167, 168
 Tideswell, 1483, 200 ; 1579, 112, 290
 Walton-on-Trent, 1490, 106
 Wilne, 1513, 230

Devonshire—

Atherington, 1540, 225
 Branton, 1548, 256
 Chittlehampton, 1480, 200
 Clovelly, 1540, 225 ; 1655, 300
 Dartmouth, 1408, 150
 Exeter Cathedral, 1409, 147, 154 ; 1413, 120

Devonshire—*continued.*

Hacombe, 1586, 276 ; 1656, 300
 Shillingford, 1516, 230
 Stoke Fleming, 1391, 55, 58
 Stoke-in-Teignhead, 1370, 104
 Thorncombe, 1437, 160
 Tiverton, 1529, 234
 Yealmpton, 1508, 222 ; 1580, 259, 261, 262

Dorsetshire—

Evershot, 1524, 106
 Knowle, 1572, 276
 Lytchett Matravers, 1470, 211
 Melbury Sampford, 1562, 240
 Milton Abbey, 1565, 182, 240
 Pimperne, 1694, 35, 302
 Puddlehinton, 1617, 287
 Puddletown, 1524, 230
 Purse Caundle, 1536, 103, 106
 Sherborne, 114
 Sturminster Marshall, 1581, 286
 Yetminster, 1531, 225

Durham—

Billingham, 1480, 116
 Brancepath, 1456, 140
 Durham Cathedral, 69, 307, 313, 314
 Sedgefield, 1320, 14, 27 ; 1470, 211

Essex—

Arkesden, 1440, 156
 Aveley, 1370, 52, 84, 94, 257 ; 1583, 228 ; 1584, 260
 Barking, 135 ; 1480, 140
 Bentley, Little, 1490, 194
 Bocking, 1420, 152
 Bowers Gifford, 1348, 47, 50
 Braxted, Little, 1503, 222
 Brightlingsea, 1400, 75
 Bromley, Great, 1432, 105
 Chesterford, Great, 1600, 228
 Chigwell, 1631, 110, 295
 Chrishall, 1370, 52, 69
 Dagenham, 1479, 131, 176, 178, 196, 197
 Easton, Little, 1420, 105 ; 1483, 195
 Elmstead, 1500, 207
 Elsenham, 1616, 287
 Finchingfield, 1523, 230
 Fryerning, 1560, 257
 Gosfield, 1439, 180
 Halstead, 1409, 144
 Harlow, 1636, 296
 Hempstead, 1518, 182

Essex—*continued*.

- Horkesley, Little, 1412, 147-150;
1502, 213; 1549, 240
Ingrave, 1457, 197; 1500, 230
Laindon, 1480, 105; 1510, 108
Lambourne, 1546, 244
Latton, 1467, 176; 1485, 222; 1520,
106
Leigh, 1453, 200; 1709, 305
Littlebury, 1510, 106
Loughton, 1637, 296
Ockendon, South, 1400, 71, 148
Pebmarsh, 1320, 14, 21, 22
Roydon, 1521, 230
St. Osyth's, 1640, 34
Sandon, 1510, 244; 1580, 286
Shopland, 1371, 52
Stebbing, 1390, 56
Stifford, 1375, 126; 1480, 210, 212
Stondon Massey, 1570, 247; 1573,
259
Strethall, 1480, 140
Thaxted, 1450, 140
Theydon Gernon, 1458, 122
Tiltey Abbey, 1520, 225
Tolleshunt Darcy, 1535, 131; 1540,
225, 256, 258
Upminster, 1455, 198; 1540, 131,
256; 1545, 258, 260
Walthamstow, 1543, 244
Wenden Lofts, 1450, 131
Wimbish, 259; 1347, 47, 50, 79, 80
Wyvenhoe, 1507, 217, 222; 1535,
106; 1537, 227, 231
- Gloucestershire—
Berkeley, 1526, 210
Bristol—
St. John, 1478, 200
St. Mary Redcliff, 1439, 173, 175;
1475, 192, 194; 1480, 200;
1522, 180
St. Peter, 1461, 105
Temple, 1396, 58; 1460, 264
Trinity Almshouses, 1411, 162
Campden, Chipping, 1401, 162, 167,
168; 1467, 200
Cheltenham, 1513, 178
Cirencester, 1438, 156; 1440, 163,
167, 168; 1442, 163; 1462, 187,
188; 1478, 105; 1480, 124
Clifford Chambers, 1583, 276
Deerhurst, 1400, 40, 71, 160, 173, 174
Dowdeswell, 1520, 123
Dyrham, 1401, 148
Eastington, 1518, 230
Fairford, 1500, 222; 1534, 231

Gloucestershire—*continued*.

- Gloucester, St. Mary de Crypt, 1529,
131
Lechlade, 1450, 167
Minchinhampton, 1510, 131, 213
Newland, 1445, 156
Northleach, 1400, 167, 168; 1447,
167, 168; 1458, 72, 163, 167-169,
185; 1485, 167; 1490, 168, 170;
1526, 72, 168, 170; 1530, 124
Quinton, 1430, 131
Rodmarton, 1461, 200
Winterbourne, 1370, 55
Wormington, 1605, 284, 285
Wootton-under-Edge, 1392, 54

Hampshire—

- Crondall, 1370, 104, 126; 1631, 215
Dummer, 1591, 256
Eversley, 1502, 82
Havant, 1413, 120, 127, 128
Kimpton, 1522, 225
Netley Abbey, 310
Odiham, 1540, 256; 1636, 228
Ringwood, 1416, 120, 127
Sherborne St. John, 1360, 56; 1488,
230; 1492, 234
Somborne, Kings, 1380, 58, 59
Southampton, 1500, 123
Stoke Charity, 1482, 238
Thruxton, 1425, 72, 150-152
Wallop, Nether, 1436, 131
Winchester College, 1413, 116; 1450,
122, 126; 1524, 141; 1548, 123,
239, 256
St. Cross, 1382, 120; 1518, 106
Isle of Wight—
Arreton, 1430, 166
Calbourne, 1380, 52; 1652, 300
Freshwater, 1370, 52
Shorwell, 1518, 124

Herefordshire—

- Hereford Cathedral, 25; 1360, 69,
112; 1390, 79, 80; 1434, 122;
1435, 156; 1524, 235, 236; 1529,
72, 123
Ledbury, 1410, 139
Ludford, 1554, 239
Marden, 1614, 282, 283

Hertfordshire—

- Aldbury, 1546, 231
Aldenham, 1547, 214
Amwell, Great, 1400, 104; 1450, 131,
135
Aspenden, 1508, 230

Hertfordshire—*continued*.

Baldock, 1480, 212
 Barkway, 1461, 200
 Barley, 1621, 287
 Bayford, 1545, 258, 260
 Bennington, 1450, 124
 Berkhamstead, Great, 1356, 55, 56 ;
 1365, 52 ; 1370, 55 ; 1520, 214
 Broxbourne, 1470, 105 ; 1473, 37,
 192, 194, 195 ; 1510, 141 ; 1531,
 225
 Buckland, 1478, 122
 Cheshunt, 1449, 162 ; 1453, 197
 Clothall, 1404, 106 ; 1519, 106, 234 ;
 1541, 123, 127 ; 1602, 287
 Digswell, 1415, 147, 157 ; 1484,
 212 ; 1495, 243
 Flamstead, 1414, 120
 Hadham, Great, 1420, 139 ; 1582,
 244
 Hemel Hempstead, 1400, 163
 Hertford, 1435, 164
 Hinxworth, 1487, 243
 Hitchin, 1452, 167 ; 1480, 212 ;
 1485, 212 ; 1490, 212 ; 1498, 122,
 123
 Hunsdon, 1495, 212
 Kelshall, 1435, 162, 166
 Knebworth, 1414, 120, 127, 147 ;
 1582, 276
 Langleigh, King's, 1578, 259
 Letchworth, 1475, 105, 210
 Mimms, North, 1360, 75, 84, 93,
 104, 202 ; 1488, 222 ; 1560, 276
 Royston, 309 ; 1432, 139 ; 1500, 82
 St. Albans—
 Abbey, 1360, 84, 90-93, 103, 110,
 112 ; 1400, 112, 265 ; 1411,
 167 ; 1450, 131 ; 1451, 71,
 133, 142 ; 1470, 131, 210 ;
 1480, 188, 190 ; 1519, 168 ;
 1521, 131
 St. Michael, 1380, 52, 58 ; 1400,
 79, 80
 St. Stephen, 1482, 200
 Sawbridgeworth, 1433, 156 ; 1470,
 200 ; 1484, 210, 212 ; 1527, 230 ;
 1600, 277
 Standon, 1477, 167, 170
 Stevenage, 1500, 123
 Walkern, 1583, 260
 Ware, 1454, 197
 Watford, 1390, 56 ; 1415, 173
 Watton, 1361, 52 ; 1370, 132
 Willian, 1446, 105, 210
 Wormley, 1479, 200 ; 1490, 234

Huntingdonshire—

Offord Darcy, 1530, 141
 Sawtry, 1404, 148
 Somersham, 1530, 108

Kent—

Addington, 1409, 148 ; 1470, 188
 Ash, 1460, 197, 198 ; 1602, 277 ;
 1642, 296
 Ashford, 1375, 55, 56
 Aylesford, 1426, 152 ; 1545, 258
 Beckenham, 1552, 240, 241
 Bethersden, 1459, 200
 Birchington, 1523, 106 ; 1533, 228
 Birling, 206
 Bobbing, 1420, 152
 Borden, 1490, 116
 Boughton Malherbe, 1529, 225
 Boughton-under-Blean, 1587, 275
 Boxley, 1451, 140
 Brabourn, 1434, 152
 Bredgar, 1518, 141
 Canterbury Cathedral, 63
 St. Alphege, 1523, 11, 141
 St. George, 1438, 122
 St. Margaret, 1470, 200
 St. Martin, 1591, 276
 St. Mary Northgate, 1540, 231
 Chart, Great, 1470, 182 ; 1513, 225 ;
 1680, 302, 303
 Chartham, 1306, 14, 19, 20, 22, 33 ;
 1454, 122, 126 ; 1508, 116
 Chelsfield, 1417, 82
 Cheriton, 1474, 140
 Chevening, 1596, 286
 Cliffe, 1652, 300
 Cobham, 69 ; 1320, 14, 27, 68, 233 ;
 1354, 52 ; 1365, 52 ; 1367, 52 ;
 1375, 55, 56 ; 1380, 56 ; 1395, 56 ;
 1402, 162 ; 1405, 71, 148 ; 1407,
 71, 148 ; 1418, 116 ; 1420, 76 ;
 1433, 158 ; 1447, 79, 80 ; 1506, 72,
 227 ; 1529, 225
 Cranbrook, 1520, 228
 Cray, St. Mary, 1773, 305
 Cuxton, 1545, 256
 Dartford, 1402, 71, 158, 159 ; 1454,
 197
 Deal, Upper, 1606, 228
 Dover—
 St. James, 1590, 286
 St. Martin, 102
 Downe, 1607, 279
 Eastry, 1590, 275
 Erith, 1435, 162 ; 1470, 198 ; 1471,
 173 ; 1574, 259

Kent—*continued*.

Faversham, 1414, 245; 1480, 122;
1533, 71, 231, 232, 245; 1580,
245; 1610, 245
Goodnestone, 1507, 234
Graveney, 1370, 58; 1381, 52; 1436,
173, 175, 210
Halling, 1587, 282
Halstow, High, 1618, 287
Hardres, Upper, 1405, 73-75, 139
Herne, 1420, 152; 1450, 140; 1470,
198
Hever, 1419, 158; 1520, 82; 1538,
154, 155, 225
Hoo St. Werburgh, 1412, 104, 105
Horsmonden, 1340, 33, 104, 126
Ightham, 1528, 230
Kemsing, 1347, 14, 126
Lee, 1582, 259
Leigh, 1580, 215
Lullingstone, 1487, 222
Lydd, 1420, 139; 1429, 162
Malling, East, 1522, 118
Margate, St. John, 1431, 158; 1433,
205; 1441, 162; 1446, 211, 212;
1582, 259, 264
Mereworth, 206; 1371, 52; 1479, 244
Milton-next-Sittingbourne, 1496, 230
Minster-in-Sheppey, 1330, 14, 21,
25-27, 30, 33
Newington-juxta-Hythe, 1541, 211,
214; 1630, 296
Northfleet, 1375, 104, 125
Orpington, 1511, 123
Otterden, 1408, 150
Penshurst, 1520, 82
Preston-by-Faversham, 1459, 187
Rochester, St. Marg., 204; 1465, 265
Saltwood, 1496, 207
Seal, 1395, 54
Sheldwich, 1394, 54, 69; 1431, 210-
212
Shorne, 1519, 204
Southfleet, 1414, 76; 1520, 214
Stone, 1408, 79, 80; 1574, 244
Stourmouth, 1472, 140
Sutton, East, 1638, 35, 296
Teynham, 1639, 296
Thannington, 1485, 222
Upchurch, 1340, 56
Westerham, 1563, 258; 1567, 284
Wickham, East, 1325, 14, 29, 79, 80
Wickham, West, 1407, 104
Woodchurch, 1320, 14, 29, 31, 78, 79
Wrotham, 1512, 223; 1525, 230;
1611, 277

Lancashire—

Eccleston, 1485, 122
Manchester Cathedral, 1458, 116;
1515, 112; 1548, 256
Middleton, 1522, 108; 1650, 300
Ormskirk, 1500, 230; 1661, 34
Sefton, 1568, 276
Winwick, 1492, 217, 230

Leicestershire—

Aylestone, 1594, 286
Barwell, 1614, 287; 1659, 300
Bosworth, Husbands, 1648, 295
Bottesford, 1404, 40, 71, 120, 121,
127; 1440, 122
Bowden, Great, 1403, 257
Castle Donington, 1458, 185, 187, 188
Leicester, Wigston's Hospital, 1543,
214
Loughborough, 1480, 200
Lutterworth, 1418, 161
Melton Mowbray, 1543, 207
Sibson, 1532, 118
Stanford-on-Soar, 1400, 104
Stokerston, 1467, 188
Swithland, 1455, 197
Thurcaston, 1425, 122
Wanlip, 1393, 39, 54, 55

Lincolnshire—

Algarkirk, 1498, 168
Althorpe, 1370, 104
Barrowby, 1479, 200; 1508, 230
Barton-on-Humber, 1380, 56; 1433,
161
Bigby, 1632, 295
Boston, 1398, 58, 70; 1400, 75, 120,
127; 1657, 300
Broughton, 1370, 52, 210
Buslingthorpe, 1290, 14, 16, 17, 38,
208
Cotes, Great, 1503, 131, 235
Croft, 1300, 14, 16
Edenham, 1500, 112, 115
Gedney, 1390, 56
Grainthorpe, 1380, 80, 82
Grantham, 67
Gunby, 1400, 71, 148, 149; 1419,
72, 173, 175; 1552, 267
Halton Holgate, 1658, 300
Harrington, 1480, 198; 1585, 276
Horncastle, 1519, 214, 258
Irnham, 1390, 54
Laughton, 1400, 148; 1549, 267
Lincoln Cathedral, 63, 104
St. Mary-le-Wigford, 1469, 82

Lincolnshire—*continued*.

- Lynwode, 4, 313; 1419, 72, 167, 170; 1421, 167, 170
- Norton Disney, 68, 313; 1580, 259, 263
- Scrivelsby, 1545, 226
- Spilsby, 1391, 56; 1410, 144
- Stallingborough, 1541, 231
- Stamford—
 - All Saints, 1460, 167, 171, 172; 1471, 198; 1508, 123
 - St. John, 1497, 105
- Stoke Rochford, 1470, 188
- Tattershall, 1411, 161; 1455, 185; 1456, 105; 1479, 185; 1497, 185; 1510, 123, 127; 1519, 106
- Winthorpe, 1505, 168
- Wrangle, 1504, 173

Middlesex—

- Chelsea, 1555, 240
- Clerkenwell, St. James, 1556, 112, 115, 239
- Ealing, 1490, 168, 171
- Edgeware, 1599, 228
- Enfield, 1470, 185, 198, 199
- Finchley, 1610, 244
- Fulham, 1529, 95, 97, 214
- Greenford, Great, 1515, 106
- Hackney, 1537, 123; 1545, 226, 258; 1618, 287, 288
- Harefield, 1540, 225
- Harrow, 1370, 52, 75; 1390, 54; 1442, 122; 1460, 140; 1468, 122, 127; 1574, 259, 264
- Hayes, 1370, 104; 1450, 157; 1576, 276
- Heston, 1581, 282
- Hillingdon, 1509, 72, 217, 223, 224
- Hornsey, 1530, 214
- Isleworth, 269; 1450, 157; 1544, 258; 1561, 131, 133; 1575, 259
- Kilburn, St. Mary, 1380, 132

London—

- All Hallows Barking, 1437, 167, 171; 1489, 168; 1510, 235; 1518, 168; 1535, 95, 97, 246; 1546, 226, 256; 1592, 247, 248
- Great St. Helen, 1482, 140; 1500, 140, 245; 1510, 223; 1514, 225; 1535, 231
- St. Andrew Undershaft, 1539, 168, 171
- St. Bartholomew-the-Less, 1439, 162

Middlesex—*continued*.

London—*continued*.

- St. Catherine, Regent's Park, 1599, 245
- St. Olave, Hart Street, 1516, 170, 244
- Temple Church, 21, 27
- Westminster Abbey, 4, 23, 37, 50, 60, 66, 67, 71, 80, 101, 114; 1395, 70, 112; 1397, 69, 107, 112, 135; 1399, 40, 56, 57, 69; 1437, 114, 152; 1483, 188; 1498, 72, 103, 112, 113; 1505, 222; 1561, 141, 284; 1661, 296
- British Museum, 95, 309; 1473, 258; 1550, 240; 1575, 259
- South Kensington Museum, 99
- Mimms, South, 1448, 157
- Northolt, 1560, 257; 1610, 287
- Pinner, 1580, 228, 259
- Willesdon, 1492, 182; 1517, 123

Monmouthshire—

- Abergavenny, 1631, 295

Norfolk—

- Acle, 1627, 295
- Antingham, 1562, 243
- Attlebridge, 1486, 207; 1525, 203
- Aylsham, 1490, 116; 1499, 212; 1507, 213
- Barton Turf, 1497, 203
- Bawburgh, 1505, 213; 1531, 203, 204; 1660, 215, 302
- Beachamwell St. Mary, 1385, 104
- Bintry, 1510, 203
- Blickling, 1360, 58; 1401, 148; 1458, 197; 1512, 228
- Brampton, 1468, 211
- Brancaster, 1485, 207
- Brisley, 1531, 108
- Buckenham, Old, 1520, 203
- Burgh St. Margaret, 1608, 287
- Burlingham, South, 1540, 203
- Burnham Thorpe, 1420, 152
- Buxton, 1508, 203
- Bylaugh, 1471, 11, 188; 1508, 203
- Cley, 1512, 213; 1520, 124, 141; 1578, 259
- Clippesby, 1594, 277
- Colney, 1502, 203
- Creake, North, 1500, 124
- Creake, South, 1509, 132
- Cressingham, Great, 1518, 118
- Crostwight, 1497, 203
- Dunston, 1649, 215

Norfolk—*continued*.

- Elsing, 1347, 47, 49
 Emneth, 68, 313
 Erpingham, 1415, 152
 Fakenham, 1500, 207
 Felbrigg, 1380, 52, 58; 1416, 147, 152, 153; 1608, 277
 Felmingham, 1591, 257
 Fincham, 1520, 214
 Fransham, Great, 1414, 150; 1500, 213
 Frenze, 1519, 131; 1520, 214
 Frettenham, 1420, 166
 Guestwick, 1504, 203
 Halvergate, 1540, 131, 256
 Harling, West, 1479, 105; 1490, 222
 Hedenham, 1502, 203
 Heigham, 1630, 297
 Helhoughton, 1450, 207
 Hellesden, 1370, 58, 233
 Hindolvestone, 1531, 203
 Holme-next-the-Sea, 1405, 161, 165; 1582, 259
 Hunstanton, 1506, 44, 45, 72, 76, 217, 230
 Ingoldisthorpe, 1608, 287
 Itteringham, 1481, 207
 Ketteringham, 1499, 230; 1530, 214
 Kirby Bedon, 1450, 205; 1505, 213
 Loddon, 1462, 207; 1546, 214; 1561, 240
 Ludham, 1633, 207
 Lynn, St. Margaret, 308; 1349, 84, 86, 88, 89; 1364, 84, 85, 87-90
 Lynn, West, 1503, 108
 Martham, 1487, 207
 Mattishall, 1507, 168
 Merton, 1474, 206; 1520, 230; 1562, 257
 Methwold, 1367, 52, 69
 Morston, 1596, 286
 Narburgh, 1545, 235; 1556, 180, 256; 1561, 182, 276; 1581, 276
 Necton, 1372, 55, 56; 1383, 56
 Newton Flotman, 1571, 276
 Northwold, 1531, 203
 Norwich—
 St. Andrew, 1527, 243
 St. Ethelred, 1487, 105
 St. George Colegate, 1472, 76
 St. Giles, 1432, 158; 1499, 203
 St. John Maddermarket, 1412, 161; 1430, 166; 1472, 200; 1524, 76, 242; 1525, 76, 243; 1540, 131; 1558, 76, 131, 255
 St. John Sepulchre, 1597, 274

Norfolk—*continued*.Norwich—*continued*.

- St. Laurence, 1425, 162; 1436, 161, 162; 1437, 76, 131, 132; 1452, 211, 212
 St. Michael-at-Plea, 1588, 215
 St. Michael Coslany, 1515, 203, 213
 St. Peter Mancroft, 1568, 258, 263
 Ormesby, Great, 1446, 206, 210; 1529, 225; 1538, 267
 Paston, 1580, 259
 Plumstead, Little, 1565, 276
 Rainham, East, 1522, 141
 Randworth, 1540, 206
 Raveningham, 1483, 198
 Reepham, 1391, 54, 69
 Ringstead, Great, 1485, 106
 Rougham, 1470, 176, 177; 1510, 228
 Sall, 1440, 162; 1454, 211, 212; 1480, 257; 1482, 203
 Salhouse, 1519, 203
 Scottow, 1520, 203
 Sculthorpe, 1470, 182
 Sharington, 1486, 105
 Shernborne, 1458, 187, 189, 190
 Shotesham, 1528, 225
 Sloley, 1500, 203; 1503, 203
 Southacre, 1384, 42, 54; 1454, 207, 258
 Sparham, 1490, 106
 Stokesby, 1488, 222; 1506, 140
 Strumpshaw, 1500, 203
 Surlingham, 1460, 140; 1513, 203
 Thwaite, 1469, 200
 Trunch, 258; 1500, 203; 1530, 205
 Upwell, 1428, 122, 123; 1435, 103, 123
 Walpole St. Peter, 1537, 203
 Walsham, North, 1519, 203; 1520, 203; 1625, 244
 Walsingham, Little, 1520, 203; 1532, 203
 Witton, 1500, 131
 Wiveton, 1512, 108; 1540, 214
 Wiggshall, 1450, 205
 Wood Dalling, 1465, 105; 1510, 203

Northamptonshire—

- Addington, Great, 1519, 106
 Aldwinckle, 1463, 200
 Ashby, Castle, 1401, 120, 127
 Ashby St. Legers, 1494, 217, 230; 1500, 230; 1505, 11; 1510, 140
 Barton, Earls, 1512, 182
 Blakesley, 1416, 147, 152

Northamptonshire—*continued.*

Blatherwycke, 1548, 239
 Blisworth, 1503, 222
 Boddington, 1627, 295
 Brampton, Church, 1585, 215
 Brington, Great, 1340, 75, 139
 Burton Latimer, 1500, 213
 Chacomb, 1543, 234, 244
 Charwelton, 1541, 225, 267
 Cotterstock, 1420, 76, 122, 127
 Easton Neston, 1552, 167, 168, 171, 239
 Fawsley, 1495, 223; 1516, 208, 209, 230; 1557, 239
 Floore, 1498, 222; 1510, 234; 1537, 82
 Green's Norton, 1462, 187, 190
 Harrowden, Great, 1433, 76, 152
 Higham Ferrers, 1337, 70, 101, 104; 1400, 80; 1425, 165; 1498, 106; 1504, 244; 1510, 207; 1523, 123
 Kettering, 1631, 296
 Lowick, 1467, 192, 194
 Marholm, 1534, 231
 Newton-by-Geddington, 1400, 78, 79
 Newton Bromshold, 1426, 106
 Northampton, St. Sepulchre, 1640, 296
 Peterborough, 102
 Preston Deanery, 1622, 277
 Rothwell, 1361, 120
 Stoke Bruerne, 1625, 287
 Sudborough, 1415, 102, 161
 Tansor, 1440, 105
 Wappenham, 1481, 176, 178
 Warkworth, 1420, 163
 Woodford-by-Thrapstone, 1580, 276
 Woodford-cum-Membris, 1425, 105

Northumberland—

Newcastle, All Saints, 1429, 95

Nottinghamshire—

Hawton, 313
 Hickling, 1521, 106
 Markham, East, 1419, 157
 Newark, 1375, 84, 91, 92; 1447, 173; 1715, 305
 Ossington, 1551, 258, 260
 Strelley, 1487, 222

Oxfordshire—

Aston Rowant, 313
 Bampton, 1420, 116
 Brightwell Baldwin, 1370, 39; 1439, 173, 176

Oxfordshire—*continued.*

Broughton, 1414, 158
 Burford, 1437, 73, 76, 166
 Cassington, 1414, 82; 1590, 215
 Chalgrove, 1441, 156
 Charlton-on-Otmoor, 1475, 122
 Checkendon, 1404, 71, 179, 180
 Chinnor, 1320, 14, 29, 30, 78; 1361, 139; 1385, 51, 54, 55; 1386, 54, 1390, 56; 1392, 54; 1410, 161
 Deddington, 1370, 58; 1660, 35
 Dorchester, 1510, 131, 133
 Ewelme, 1436, 152; 1460, 140; 1494, 257; 1517, 141; 1518, 225
 Hampton Poyle, 1424, 156
 Handborough, 1567, 215
 Haseley, Great, 1494, 116; 1497, 212
 Heythorpe, 1521, 225
 Ipsden, 1525, 265
 Lewknor, 1370, 126; 1380, 58
 Lillingstone Lovell, 1446, 207
 Mapledurham, 1395, 54, 69
 Noke, 1598, 180
 Northleigh, 1415, 152
 Northstoke, 1370, 124
 Norton, Chipping, 1450, 161; 1451, 167
 Nuffield, 1360, 58
 Oddington, 1500, 213, 214
 Oxford—
 All Souls College, 1490, 140; 1510, 136, 140
 Christ Church Cathedral, 1460, 200; 1557, 118, 239
 Corpus Christi College, 1530, 214
 Magdalen College, 1478, 140; 1480, 122; 1500, 140; 1501, 136, 140; 1502, 140; 1515, 118; 1523, 136, 141; 1558, 239
 Merton College, 1310, 14, 30, 78, 126; 1372, 79, 139; 1420, 76, 77, 136, 139; 1445, 140; 1471, 122, 127; 1519, 141
 New College, 1403, 120, 126; 1417, 72, 112; 1427, 139; 1441, 137, 140; 1447, 140; 1451, 140; 1468, 140; 1472, 212; 1478, 140; 1479, 140; 1494, 122, 126; 1508, 136, 140; 1510, 182; 1521, 123; 1525, 112
 Queen's College, 1518, 118, 119, 123; 1616, 73, 110, 111, 287, 290, 291
 Holywell Church, 1622, 284
 St. Mary Magdalen, 1574, 259
 St. Mary-the-Virgin, 1507, 116

Oxfordshire—*continued.*Oxford—*continued.*

- St. Peter-in-the-East, 1574, 259, 260
 Rollright, Great, 1522, 106
 Rotherfield-Greys, 1387, 54
 Shipton-under-Wychwood, 1548, 215, 255
 Shirburn, 1493, 234
 Somerton, 1552, 182, 239
 Soulderne, 1508, 106
 Stanton Harcourt, 1460, 200; 1519, 106
 Stoke Lyne, 1535, 238
 Stokenchurch, 1410, 163; 1412, 163
 Swinbrook, 1510, 230
 Tew, Great, 1410, 72, 150; 1500, 234
 Thame, 306; 1460, 187, 188; 1502, 168, 170; 1539, 231
 Waterperry, 1370, 55, 56; 1527, 267
 Watlington, 1501, 213
 Whitchurch, 1456, 105; 1610, 287
 Witney, 1500, 168, 170, 234
 Woodstock, 1441, 161

Rutland—

- Casterton, Little, 1410, 148, 149
 Liddington, 1530, 225

Shropshire—

- Acton Burnell, 1382, 54, 69
 Adderley, 1390, 112, 115; 1560, 276
 Burford, 206; 1370, 56
 Edgmond, 1533, 214
 Tong, 1467, 188, 190; 1510, 116; 1517, 141, 204
 Upton Cressett, 1640, 34
 Withington, 1530, 123

Somersetshire—

- Cheddar, 1460, 198
 Chedzoy, 1490, 222
 Churchill, 1572, 276
 Cossington, 1524, 225
 Ilminster, 1440, 156; 1618, 272, 273
 Ilton, 1508, 213
 Petherton, South, 1430, 152
 St. Decumans, 1596, 277
 Shepton Mallett, 1649, 296
 Swainswick, 1439, 162
 Wedmore, 1630, 207
 Wells Cathedral, 4; 1465, 116; 1626, 296
 Yeovil, 1460, 131

Staffordshire—

- Audley, 1385, 54
 Clifton Campville, 1360, 55, 75, 265
 Croxden Abbey, 254, 255
 Elford, 1621, 287
 Hanbury, 1480, 122
 Kinver, 1528, 225
 Norbury, 1350, 55; 1667, 302
 Okeover, 1447, 72, 267

Suffolk—

- Acton, 1302, 14, 18, 22
 Ampton, 1490, 265
 Barningham, 1499, 140
 Barsham, 1415, 152
 Benhall, 1611, 277
 Bradley, Little, 1584, 247
 Braiseworth, 1569, 276
 Brundish, 1360, 104; 1560, 276
 Burgate, 1409, 71, 148
 Bury St. Edmund's, 254; 1480, 200; 1514, 116, 117
 Campsey Ash, 1504, 106
 Denham, 1574, 259
 Easton, 1584, 276
 Eyke, 1430, 173, 175; 1619, 287
 Gazeley, 1530, 204
 Gorleston, 1320, 14, 21-23
 Hadleigh, 1560, 258, 260
 Halesworth, 1581, 259

Ipswich—

- St. Mary Quay, 1525, 95-97, 163, 246
 St. Mary Tower, 1475, 181, 182; 1506, 182, 244
 St. Nicholas, 1475, 200
 Kenton, 1524, 230
 Lavenham, 1486, 212, 213; 1630, 228
 Letheringham, 1389, 54; 1400, 42
 Lowestoft, 1500, 213
 Melford, Long, 1480, 198
 Monewden, 1595, 286, 288
 Orford, 1586, 39
 Oulton, 125
 Pakefield, 1417, 161; 1451, 140
 Playford, 1400, 42, 148
 Polstead, 1440, 105
 Rendham, 1523, 204
 Rougham, 1405, 148
 Sotterley, 1479, 188; 1630, 296
 Stonham Aspell, 1606, 287
 Stowmarket, 1638, 215
 Thurlow, Great, 1460, 188
 Ufford, 1598, 215, 244
 Walton, 1459, 200
 Wenham, Little, 1514, 217, 225

Suffolk—continued.

Wrentham, 1593, 277
Yoxford, 1428, 152 ; 1485, 211, 212 ;
1613, 279

Surrey—

Addington, 1540, 225
Albury, 1440, 156
Beddington, 1432, 162
Betchworth, 1533, 106
Bookham, Great, 1668, 302, 304
Byfleet, 1489, 116
Camberwell, 312 ; 1582, 260
Carshalton, 1490, 222
Charlwood, 1553, 239
Cheam, 1370, 58 ; 1542, 234, 256
Cobham, 1500, 235 ; 1550, 236
Cranley, 1503, 235, 237
Crowhurst, 1450, 157
Croydon, 1512, 123
Ewell, 1519, 230
Horley, 1420, 72, 157 ; 1516, 267
Horsell, 1619, 247
Horsley, East, 1478, 109, 112
Kingston-on-Thames, 1437, 162
Lambeth, St. Mary, 1535, 231 ; 1545,
226
Lingfield, 1370, 55, 56 ; 1403, 150 ;
1420, 158 ; 1469, 105 ; 1503,
106
Merstham, 1498, 222
Ockham, 1376, 126
Oxted, 1480, 198
Peper Harow, 1487, 82, 234
Puttenham, 1431, 105
Richmond, 1591, 278
Shere, 1412, 105
Stoke d'Abernon, 1277, 14, 15, 37,
38 ; 1327, 14, 23 ; 1464, 198 ; 1516,
228
Thorpe, 1583, 244
Walton-on-Thames, 1587, 266
Weybridge, 1520, 214
Wonersh, 1578, 259

Sussex—

Amberley, 1424, 42, 43, 192
Ardingley, 1504, 217, 222
Arundel, 1419, 116 ; 1445, 105 ; 1465,
187
Battle, 1426, 152 ; 1430, 105 ; 1615,
287, 289
Bodiam, 1360, 52 ; 1513, 213
Broadwater, 1432, 122, 126, 147 ;
1445, 82
Buxted, 1408, 78, 79 ; 1450, 166

Sussex—continued.

Clapham, 1526, 228-230, 234
Cowfold, 1433, 71, 131, 133, 134, 142
Etchingham, 1388, 54 ; 1444, 72, 157 ;
1480, 198
Firle, West, 1638, 215
Fletching, 1380, 42, 52 ; 1450,
161
Grinstead, East, 1505, 222
Horsham, 1411, 120, 123, 126 ; 1430,
103
Hurstmonceux, 1402, 148, 163, 233
Iden, 1427, 105
Ifield, 23
Isfield, 1579, 276
Ore, 1400, 75, 161
Pulborough, 1423, 72, 122 ; 1452, 162
Rusper, 1370, 58
Slaugham, 1547, 235, 239
Stopham, 1460, 201 ; 1478, 201 ; 1614,
277
Storrington, 1591, 286
Ticehurst, 1370, 52 ; 1546, 267
Trotton, 1310, 14, 27, 28, 37, 58 ;
1419, 33, 72, 144, 145, 154
Warbleton, 1436, 72, 122, 127
Warminghurst, 1554, 241
Wiston, 1426, 41, 152, 153

Warwickshire—

Aston, 1545, 180
Baginton, 1407, 42, 148
Barcheston, 1530, 141
Coleshill, 1500, 107 ; 1566, 286
Compton Verney, 1536, 225 ; 1630,
296
Coughton, 1510, 223
Exhall, 1566, 276
Haseley, 1573, 259, 276
Itchington, Long, 1674, 302, 303
Merevale, 1412, 144
Middleton, 1476, 176
Shuckborough Superior, 1549, 239
Upton, 1587, 286, 287

Warwick—

St. Mary, 64, 187 ; 1401, 42, 143
St. Nicholas, 1424, 105
Wellesbourne, 1426, 147, 152
Whichford, 1582, 285.
Wixford, 1411, 150, 153
Wolford, 31
Wootton Wawen, 1505, 222

Westmoreland—

Morland, 1562, 257
Musgrave, Great, 1500, 106

Wiltshire—

Aldbourne, 1508, 106, 204
 Bromham, 1516, 225; 1578, 276
 Clyffe Pypard, 1380, 52
 Dauntsey, 1514, 225; 1535, 234
 Draycot Cerne, 1394, 54
 Fovant, 1492, 140, 234
 Lavington, West, 1570, 258, 263
 Laycock, 206; 1501, 230
 Mere, 1398, 54
 Newton, Long, 1503, 108
 Ramsbury, 206
 Salisbury—
 Cathedral, 4, 206, 313; 1375, 112;
 1578, 290
 St. Thomas, 306
 Salisbury, 1590, 251
 Wardour Castle, 263; 1573, 258;
 1577, 259; 1586, 260

Worcestershire—

Alvechurch, 1524, 225
 Blockley, 1488, 140, 204; 1500, 108
 Bredon, 1650, 296
 Fladbury, 1445, 147; 1458, 126;
 1504, 106
 Kidderminster, 1415, 72, 152, 157, 164
 Strensham, 1390, 54; 1405, 148;
 1562, 240
 Tredington, 1427, 122, 126; 1482,
 116

Yorkshire—

Aldbrough, 1360, 42, 52, 210
 Aughton, 1466, 188
 Bainton, 1429, 105
 Bedale, 21, 27; 1681, 35
 Beeford, 1472, 122, 123
 Birstall, 1632, 215
 Bolton-by-Bolland, 1509, 230
 Bradfield, 1640, 34
 Brandsburton, 1364, 75; 1397, 11,
 54, 210
 Burton, Bishop, 1460, 202
 Catterick, 1492, 222
 Cottingham, 1383, 69, 120
 Cowthorpe, 1494, 176, 178
 Fountains Abbey, 109
 Hampsthwaite, 1380, 58
 Harpham, 1445, 156
 Helmsley, 1671, 34
 Hornby, 1489, 131
 Howden, 1621, 257
 Hull, Holy Trinity, 1451, 163
 Ingleby Arncliffe, 1674, 35
 Kirby Wharfe, 1480, 122

Yorkshire—continued.

Kirkheaton, 1665, 300, 302
 Kirkleatham, 1631, 246
 Leeds, St. Peter, 1459, 188; 1469,
 202; 1709, 305
 Lowthorpe, 1669, 34
 Normanton, 1668, 34
 Nunkeeling, 1629, 34
 Owston, 1409, 161, 163
 Ripley, 1429, 202
 Routh, 1410, 150, 152, 157
 Rudstone, 1677, 35
 Sessay, 1550, 123, 127, 239, 256
 Sheriff Hutton, 1657, 300
 Sprotborough, 1474, 188
 Thornton Watlass, 1669, 302
 Topcliffe, 1391, 84, 94, 258
 Wath, 1420, 173
 Wensley, 1360, 84, 93, 103, 104, 202
 Winestead, 1540, 258

York—

All Saints, 1642, 294
 Minster, 309; 1315, 14, 32, 109,
 112; 1595, 293, 294
 St. Cross Parish Room, 1597, 294
 St. Michael Spurriergate, 1466,
 202; 1681, 35
 St. Michael-le-Belfry, 1680, 35;
 1683, 35
 St. Sampson, 1680, 35

WALES

Baumaris, Anglesea, 1530, 234
 Bettws, Montgom., 1531, 106
 Haverfordwest, Pemb., 1654, 300
 Llanrwst, Denbigh, 303; 1658, 35, 300;
 1671, 35, 302
 Swansea, Glam., 1500, 222, 235

SCOTLAND

Aberdeen, 1613, 11, 95, 97, 98, 294

IRELAND

Dublin, St. Patrick, 1528, 118, 218;
 1537, 118, 218

BELGIUM

Antwerp, 12, 97, 99
 Bruges, 83, 92
 Brussels, 83, 97

Ghent, 83, 257
Ypres, 92, 264

HOLLAND

Middleburgh, 263

DENMARK

Ringstead, 83, 90, 91

GERMANY

Cologne, 2, 92, 99
Hamburg, 92
Hildesheim, 13, 83
Lubeck, 83, 90-92
Schwerin, 83, 90-92
Stralsund, 83, 92
Thorn, 83, 88
Verden, 13, 83

GENERAL INDEX

- Adoration, the, 235
 Agincourt, Battle of, 144, 146, 153
 Agnus Dei, the, 90, 110, 162
 Aileward, Thos., 128
 Airay, Dr., 290, 291
 Allen, Dr., 249
 Alphonsus' *Clericalis Disciplina*, 64
 Andrews, Mr., 213
 Anelace, the, 60, 124, 168, 175, 177, 199
 Anne of Bohemia, 60, 143
 Annunciation, the, 101, 234
Antiquarian Repertory, the, 266
 Antiquaries, Society of, 175
 Antwerp, Siege of, 208
Archæological Journal, the, 10, 249
 Arderne, Sir Peter, 176
 Argentein, Dr., 137, 138
 Armourers, Milanese, 65, 187
 Asger, John, 161
 Asheton, Nich., 285
 Askwith, Robt., 294
 Assheton, Ralph, 300
 Atkinson, Thos., 294
 Attelath, Robt., 309
 Aumberdene, Nichole de, 47, 58

 Bache, Canon, 147
 Bacon, John, 171, 208
 Badges. *See* HERALDRY.
 Bailby, Rich., 161
 Ballett, Rich., 244
 Barnet, Battle of, 186
 Bartelot, John, 201
 Barton, Walter, 254
 Baxter, Rich., 158
 Beauchamp, Rich., 64, 187
 Beauchamp, Sir Simon de, 4
 Beauchamp, Thos. de, 42, 143
 Beaumont, Adam, 302
 Beaumont, Bishop, 70, 313, 314
 Beaumont, Lord, 223, 227

 Beauver, Robt., 132
 Bedstead brasses, 282
 Belcher, Mr. H. G., 310
 Bell, Bishop John, 115, 239
 Bell, Bishop Rich., 112, 115
 Berkeley, Marquis, 234
 Berkyng, Rich. de, 4
 Bertlot, Rich., 201
 Berwick, capitulation of, 254
 Bewfforeate, Abbot, 133
 Bill, Dean, 284
 Billingford, Dr., 137
 Billyng, Judge, 178
 Bingham, Bishop, 4, 313
 Black Book, the, 250
 Black Death, the, 46
 Black Prince, tomb of, 63, 64, 71
 Bladigdone, John, 29
 Blakwey, Wm., 136
 Blodwell, Dr., 70, 129, 185
 Blomfield's *Norfolk*, 205
 Bloxham, John, 76, 136
 Bohun, Alianore de, 57, 67, 69, 135
 Bohun, Humphrey de, 23
 Boselyngthorpe, Sir John de, 17, 38
 Bosworth, Battle of, 183, 218
 Bosworth, John, 303
 Bourgchier, Lord, 144
 Boutell, the Rev. Chas., 84, 109, 149, 168
 Bownell, Constance, 282
 Bowthe, Bishop, 115
 Bradshawe, Hen., 180
 Braunche, Robt., 5, 84, 85
 Braybrok, Sir Reg., 71
 Brewys, Sir John de, 41, 153
 Brook, Sir Thos., 160
 Brooke, Sir John, 227
 Brooke, Sir Thos., 226
 Brounflet, Sir Thos., 147
 Browne, John, 274
 Browne, Wm., 171, 172

- Brystowe, Hugh, 238
 Bullen, Sir Thos., 154, 155
 Bulowe, Bishops de, 90, 91
 Bulstrode, Marg., 254
 Bures, Sir Robt. de, 16, 18
 Bushe, Thos., 170
 Byngham, Sir Rich., 176

 Caerlaverock, Siege of, 21
 Calais, Staple of, 166, 170, 171, 173
 Calthorp, Rich., 243
 Camoys, Margarete de, 27, 28, 37
 Camoys, Lord Thos., 144, 145, 154
 Canteys, Nich., 158
 Carre, John, 247
 Cassy, Sir John, 173, 174
 Castle in a brass, 114
 Castyll, Marg., 191
 Catisby, Wm., 11
 Chains of office, 226
 Chantries, suppression of, 251, 256
 Chapman, Robt., 204
 Charterhouse, dissolution of, 250
 Chaucer, 6, 39, 46
 Cherneys, Jamina de, 190
 Chetwode, John, 163
 Cheyne, Thos., 54
 Chichele, Wm., 165
 Chingenberg, John, 84
 Chiverton, Rich., 297
 Chrysom children, 227, 228
 Chute, Marg., 282, 283
 Cinquenaire, Palais de, 97
 Cinque Ports, the, 245
 Clark, John, 243
 Clopton, Margery, 199
 Coats-of-arms. *See* HERALDRY.
 Cobham, Joan de, 27, 68
 Cobham, John, the Founder, 68
 Cobham, John, the Host, 69
 Cobham, Marg., 68
 Cod, Thos., 265
 Codryngtoun, Preb., 118, 121
 Coffin chalices, 201
 Cole, Canon, 239
 Coles, Geo., 296
 Colet, Dean, 216
 Collar of SS., 148-150, 152, 157, 160, 194, 266
 Collar of Suns and Roses, 176, 194, 195
 Colwell, Rich., 245
 Conquest, Elizth., 226
 Conquest, Rich., 221
 Cooke, Anth., 279
 Cooke, Robt., Clarencieux, 245
 Coorthopp, Dean, 239

 Copleston, Isabella, 261, 262
 Copperplate engraving, 34
 Cornwayle, Edm., 206
 Corp, John, 60
 Corteville, Sire Louis, 99
 Cotman's *Norfolk and Suffolk Brasses*, 87, 160, 175, 212
 Cotrel, Jas., 293, 294
 Cotton, Robt., 279
 Cottusmore, Chief Justice, 176
 Cotyng, Wm., 207
 Coulthirst, Robt., 246
 Courtenay, Sir Peter, 147, 154
 Cradle brasses, 298
 Cranley, Archbishop, 112, 115
 Crecy, Battle of, 50
 Credo, the, 127
 Creeny's *Continental Brasses*, 33
 Creke, Lady, 254
 Crests. *See* HERALDRY.
 Crokker, Sir John, 226
 Cromwell, Oliver, 302
 Cromwell, Lord Treasurer, Ralph, 154, 185
 Cromwell, Thos., *Comperia*, 130, 250
 Cross-legged effigies, 22
 Crozier, the, 109
 Crucifix, the, 82, 115
 Cruwe, Thos. de, 153
 Cullen plates, 2, 64
 Curson, Sir John, 11
 Curteys, John, 58, 60, 171

 Daubernoun, Sir John, 4, 15, 16, 37, 38, 41
 Davis, Mr. C. T., 11
 Daye, John, 247
 Deacons, brasses of, 108, 265
 Delamere, Abbot, 5, 90, 114
 Dely, Marg., 133
 Dencourt, Elizth., 198
 Denot, Peter, 161
 Destruction of brasses, 130, 160, 178, 251, 252, 306; of slabs, 22, 311
 Dignitaries of the Church, 118
 Dogs, named pet, 160, 175
 Dunbar, Battle of, 308
 Dunche, Wm., 277, 278
 Dye, Wm., 284
 Dyve, Sir John, 267

 Edmonds, Thos., 247
 Edward III., tomb of, 62, 71
Eikon Basilike, the, 290
 Elijah and Elisha, 292
 Eleanor, tomb of Queen, 62, 67

Eltham, John of, 23
 Emblems, 290, 292, 297
 Enamelled shields, 27, 37, 62, 64
 Englysche, Thos., 265
 Engravers of book illustrations, 290
 Engravers, provincial, 34, 78, 106, 132,
 202, 203, 213, 231, 263, 297
 Eric Menved, King, 83, 90, 92
 Ermyrn, Wm., 127
 Estney, Abbot, 103, 112-114
 Etampes, Charles d', 25
 Evangelistic symbols, 41, 82, 102, 226,
 245
 Evelyn the diarist, 308
 Evingar, Andrew, 97, 246
 Eyer, John, 182

Farrer, Mr. E., 310
 Felbrig, Symond de, 60
 Felbrygge, Sir Symon, 147, 153
 Fenton, John, 286
 Fermor, Thos., 10
 Fermoure, Wm., 182
 Ferne, Bishop, 296
 Ferraers of Chartley, Lord, 144
 Field, Rev. H. E., 313
 Fienlez, Sir Wm., 163
 Finiguerra, Maso, 34
 Fitz-Alan, Brian, Lord, 21
 Fitzherbert, Sir Anth., 254
 Fitzwilliam Museum, 50
 Fleming, Alan, 5, 92
 Fordyce's *History of Durham*, 308
 Fortey, John, 163, 168, 169, 185
 Foster's *Feudal Coats*, 36
 Fox, Myghell, 244
 Foxley, Sir John, 8
 Franklin, Eliza, 284
 Franks, Sir W., 255
 Frekylton, Hen., 204
 Frilende, Walter, 126
 French characteristics, 25, 33
 Fyche, Geoff., 218
 Fylfot cross, 125, 126
 Fynche, Rich., 246
 Fynderne, Wm., 44, 192
 Fynexs, Archdeacon, 116, 117

Gadburye, Rich., 280, 281
 Gage, Mr. John, 21
 Gardner, Mr. Starkie, 220, 275
 Garter, Order of the, Knights, 65, 144,
 145, 153, 154, 185, 195; Canons,
 123, 239.
 Gasquet's *English Monastic Life*, 130

Geoffrey of Anjou, 36
 Geographical distribution, 310
 Geste, Bishop, 290
 Gloves, pair of, 161
 Golden Legend, the, 233
 Goldsmiths' work, 198, 214
 Goldwell, Nich., 136
 Goodryke, Bishop, 115, 239
 Gosebourne, Robt., 11
 Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*, 84
 Graa, Thos., 11
 Greenwood, Benj., 305
 Gregorian Calendar, 94
 Grenefeld, Archbishop, 32
 Grevel, Wm., 168
 Grey, Sir Anth., 194
 Grocyn, 216
 Guardian angel, 130
 Gyll, Rich., 226
 Gypciere, the, 231

Haines, Rev. Herbert, 109, 182, 205,
 269, 306
 Hakebech, Sir Adam de, 68
 Hakebourne, Rich. de, 29
 Halberd, the, 237
 Hanseatic League, the, 84, 92, 161
 Hansart, Anth., 235
 Hanson, Robt., 267
 Hardyng, Robt., 237
 Harison, Alice, 284
 Harleston, Alice, 199
 Harpedon, Sir John, 114
 Harsnett, Archbishop, 110, 295
 Harsyck, Sir John, 42
 Harsyk, Sir Roger, 258
 Harwedon, John, 76
 Hastings, Sir Hugh, 48, 49
 Hache, Henry, 231, 232, 245
 Hache, Joan, 227
 Hautryve, Dr., 137
 Hawberk, Sir Nich., 71
 Hawkins, Thos., 275
 Haywarde, John, 245
 Heere, John and Gerard de, 97
 Henry III., tomb of, 62
 Henry VII., tomb of, 66
 Heraldry—

Coats-of-arms—

Ashton, 302
 Bacon, 21
 Bagot, 148
 Beauchamp, 42, 143
 Beaumont, 302
 Bohemia, 153
 Brewers Company, 247

*Heraldry—continued.**Coats-of-arms—continued.*

Bures, 19
 Carpenters Company, 247
 Chiverton, 298
 Clothworkers Company, 247
 Creke, 25
 Daubernoun, 15, 41
 Drapers Company, 244
 Dyve, 267
 East Land Company, 245
 Edward the Confessor, 153
 Ely, Deanery of, 289
 Ely, See of, 128
 England, 128
 Ermyn, 127
 Felbrigg, 148
 Ferrers, 42, 143
 Fishmongers Company, 247
 Flanders, 128
 France (Old), 128
 Fulburne, 127
 Fynderne, 44, 192
 Gestingthorpe, 42
 Giffard, 50
 Goldsmiths Company, 244
 Grocers Company, 244
 Haberdashers Company, 245
 Hainault, 128
 Harsyck, 42
 Hastings, 50
 Holland, 128
 Holland, Lord, 199
 Holy Roman Empire, 153
 Ironmongers Company, 247
 King, 300
 Mercers Company, 242
 Merchant Adventurers, 242
 Merchant Tailors Company, 245
 Norwich, City of, 242
 Powis, 199
 Queens' College, 289
 Rugge, 243
 Salters Company, 246
 Say, 194
 Setvans, 41
 Skinners Company, 244
 Staple of Calais, 170
 Stationers Company, 247
 Trumpington, 18, 41
 Valence, 37
 Vintners Company, 247
 Wantele, 42

Crests and badges—

Bear and Ragged Staff for Warwick, 40, 65, 143

*Heraldry—continued.**Crests and badges—continued.*

Boar's Head for Bacon, 22; for Vernon, 191
 Broomscods for Plantagenet, 61
 Dolphin for a fishmonger, 80
 Elephant for Beaumont, 80, 223
 Fox for Foxley, 75
 Maple-leaf for Mapylton, 126
 Miner for Baynham, 156
 Oak tree for Oker, 268
 Portcullis for Beaufort, 194
 Ram for wool-staplers, 171
 Stork for Stokke, 171
 Swan for Bohun, 40, 157
 Turkey's Feathers for Harsyck, 42
 Well for Colwell, 245
 Wheatsheaf for Aileward, 127
 White Hart for Richard II., 61
 Herwy, Abbess, 133
 Heylesdone, Rich. de, 60
 Hodges, Captain, 208
 Holl, Thos., 297
 Holme, Thos., Clarencieux, 245
 Holte, Thos., 180
 Honywode, Archdeacon, 73, 218, 219
 Horne, Elizth., 255
 Hornebolt, Marg., 97
 Hovener, Albert, 84
 Hudson's *Brasses of Northants.*, 165
 Hundred Years' War, the, 6, 146, 183
 Hurst, Leonard, 284
 Hyde, Laurence, 251
 Hyde, Wm., 253
 Ifield, Sir John d', 23
 Ingeborg, Queen, 83, 90
 Ingylton, Robt., 180, 184, 185, 222
 Initials on brasses, 126, 163
 Instruments of the Passion, 227
 Invocations, 40, 166, 191
 Iseni, Sir Wm. d', 68
 Iso von Wilpe, 13
 Jeanne Darc, 146
 Jocelyn, Bishop, 4
 Johnson, Hugh, 288
 Juyn, Sir John, 175
 Keriell, Jane, 198
 Kervile, Sir Robt., 205
 Kidwelly, David, 200
 King, Dorothy, 298, 301
 Knyghtley, Thos., 208, 209
 Knyghtley, Sir Edm., 223

- Lace, 297
 Lake, Bishop, 296
 Laken, Sir Wm., 176
 Lambarde, Silvester, 282
 Langton, Dr., 118, 119
 Langton, Wm., 202
 Lawrence, Abbot, 132
 Lee, Henry, 257
 Leeds, Edw., 287
 Legh, Roger, 233
 Leland, 171
 Le Strange, Lord, 223, 224
 Le Strange, Sir Roger, 44, 45
 Le Straunge, Sir Thos., 147
 Leventhorp, John, 226
 Liddel, Dr., 11, 97, 98, 294
 Limoges enamels, 36, 37
 Lloyd, David, 136
 Lodyngton, Wm. de, 175
 London, John, 136
 Longespé, Bishop, 206
 Lost brasses, 22
 Luke, Nich., 180
 Luke, Sir Walter, 180
 Lupton, Dr., 124
 Lysle, Sir John, 151
- Mackerell's *History of Lynn*, 308
 Magewik, Alice, 256
 Magnus, Thos., 239
 Malory's *Morte Darthur*, 63
 Malyns, Reg. de, 55
 Manning, Mr. Percy, 292
 Manufacture of brass in England, 8, 269
 Mapylton, John, 147
 Mareys, Joan, 212
 Marsham, John, 243
 Martyn, Judge, 175, 210
 Martyn, Rich., 158, 159
 Mason, Thos., 136
 Mass of St. Gregory, 233
 Merchants' marks, 7, 162, 168, 170, 215, 242
 Merton, Bishop de, 37
 Metal-workers, 61, 62, 64, 253
 Mitre brasses, 296
 Monasteries, dissolution of, 130
 Monograms on brasses, 163, 244
 Monox, Sir Geo., 244
 Montagu, Sir Wm. de, 254
 Monumental Brass Society, 9, 11, 99, 252, 288, 313
 Mordant, Wm., 182
 Mordon, Thos., 126
 More, Gauwyn, 200
 Mortimer's Cross, Battle of, 194
- Mosaic-work, 80
 Mostyn, Lady Mary, 303
 Motley's *Dutch Republic*, 252
 Mottoes, 170, 171
 Mul, Bishop de, 90
 Mural brasses, use of, 270
 Muscote, John, 182
 Muston, Anne, 207
- Nelond, Prior, 71, 133, 134, 142
 Neville, Sir Thos., 206
 Nevynson, Thos., 275
 Nichols, Mr. J. B., 115
 Nightingale's *Church Plate of Wiltshire*, 306
 Northwode, Sir John de, 21, 25
 Norton, John, 132
 Notingham, Henry, 165
 Number of brasses, 33
- Oker, Humphrey, 267
 Omission of stole, 106
 Ord, Mr. Craven, 21, 309
 Orleans, relief of, 146
 Oskens, Henry, 99
 Otterbourne, Battle of, 146
 Otto de Brunswick, 13
 Oxford University Brass - Rubbing Society, 253, 292
- Page, Robt., 168
 Pardons and indulgences, 38, 233
 Parker, Petronilla, 173
 Parkers, Roger, 124
 Patesle, Thos., 127
 Peacock Feast, the, 87
 Pearson, Mr., 312
 Peasant Revolt, 39
 Peckham, Amphyllis, 135, 255
 Pemberton, Hugh, 245
 Peryent, Sir Thos., 147
 Pescod, Walter, 58, 70
 Peyton, Thos., 185
 Phelip, Anne, 227
 Phelip, Christine, 198
 Phelip, Sir John, 153
 Pictorial brasses, 3
 Pilgrimage of Grace, 250
 Pincorain, Siege of, 25
 Planché's *Cyclopædia of Costume*, 36
 Poitiers, Battle of, 50
 Popham, Sir John, 254
 Porter, Wm., 235
 Portraits, 3
 Post-Reformation clergy, 238
 Powder, Thos., 96, 97, 163, 242, 246

Price, John, 305
 Prideaux, Bishop, 296
 Pugin, Mr. A. W., 95
 Pursglove, Bishop, 290
 Pyke, John, 255

Rebus on a brass, 126
 Recovery of lost brasses, 21, 69
 Rede, Geo., 234
 Rede, John, 179, 180
 Rede, Peter, 263
 Reed, John, 173
 Restoration of missing parts, 29
 Resurrection, the, 235, 237, 254
 Reve, Thos., 288
 Richard I., heart of, 206
 Richard II., tomb of, 60-62, 71, 143
Rites of Durham, the, 307, 315
 Robert, Wm., 212
 Robins, Wm., 200
 Robinson, Bishop, 73, 110, 111, 290
 Rochester, Robt., 226
 Rolf, Thos., 180
 Ros, Wm., Lord de, 21
 Rosary, 124, 176, 199, 231
 Roses, Wars of the, 6
 Rouclyff, Brian, 178
 Routh, Sir John, 152
 Rugge, Robt., 131, 243
 Rymer's *Fœdera*, 61

Sacheverell, Sir Hen., 270, 271
 St. Albans, Battle of, 183
 St. Denis, royal catacombs at, 25
 St. Leger, Sir Thos., 194
 St. Maur, Laurence de, 70, 101
 St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society, 137, 288
 St. Quintin, Sir John de, 11

Saints in brasses—
 St. Andrew, 101, 129
 St. Anne, 175, 191
 St. Asaph, 129
 St. Bridget, 129
 St. Candidus, 186
 St. Catherine, 120, 129, 130, 218
 St. Christopher, 101, 191
 St. Etheldreda, 129
 St. Faith, 79
 St. Gabriel, 101, 129, 235
 St. George, 50, 186
 St. James the Great, 120, 261
 St. John Bapt., 76, 101, 120, 129, 175
 St. John Evang., 82, 120, 129
 St. Laurence, 101, 108

Saints in brasses—*continued*.
 St. Margaret, 120, 129, 130, 191
 St. Mary Magdalen, 101, 129
 St. Mary the Blessed Virgin, 68, 71, 73, 82, 120, 129, 133, 175, 192, 204, 218, 234, 261
 St. Matthew, 102
 St. Maur, 101
 St. Maurice, 186
 St. Michael, 129
 St. Nicholas, 129
 St. Pancras, 71, 133
 St. Paul, 73, 101, 120, 129, 264
 St. Peter, 73, 101, 120, 129, 186
 St. Philip, 108
 St. Stephen, 101, 108
 St. Thomas, 101
 St. Thomas of Canterbury, 71, 115, 133
 St. Wilfrid, 129
 St. Winifred, 129

Salter, Thos., 9
 Saracen soldier, 238
 Savage, Anne, 285
 Say, Sir John, 37, 194, 195
 Scott, Sir Gilbert, 312
 Scott-Hall, Rev. W. E., 175
 Scrolls, 41, 153, 166, 171, 178, 191, 208, 214, 227, 233, 289
 Sculptor, Torrigiano, 66
 Sculptured stone effigies, 21, 23, 25, 27
 Selwyn, John, 266
 Seman, Simon, 161
 Serken, Bishop de, 90
 Setvans, Sir Robt. de, 20, 41
 Shakespeare, 56, 144, 145, 148
 Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations*, 25
 Shelley, Edw., 241
 Shelley, Elizth., 227
 Shelley, John, 228, 229
 Shernborne, Sir Thos., 189, 190
 Shiers, Robt., 303, 304
 Shosmyth, Wm., 244
 Shrewsbury, Battle of, 146
 Shrines. *See* TABERNACLES.
 Signatures on brasses, 34, 292
 Skirlawe, Walter de, 316
 Sleford, John de, 128
 Smith, Mr. J. Challenor, 9
 Smyth, Thos., 205
 Spelman, Sir John, 180
 Spryng, Thos., 213
 Spycer, John, 75
 Stapleton, Sir Bryan de, 160
 Stathum, Sir Thos., 191, 193, 195, 222

- Staunton, Robt., 185
 Staverton, John, 175
 Stephenson, Mr. Mill, 99, 252, 258, 264, 288, 294
 Stoke, Abbot, 133, 142
 Stokes, John, 161
 Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*, 36, 64
 Stowe's *Survey of London*, 254
 Strete, John, 73, 74
 Style, Sir Humphrey, 241
 Sunday Letter, 94
 Sundial made from a brass, 309
 Surrey Archæological Society, 309
 Surtees Society, 307
 Sutton, Robt., 218
 Swetenham, Matth., 147
 Swynborne, Sir Thos., 147, 150

 Tabernacles and shrines, 71, 73, 76, 128, 133
 Taillor, Rowland, 260
 Taylour, John, 170
 Tendryng, Tomesina, 211
 Tenison, Philipp, 215
 Terri, John, 242
 Tewkesbury, Battle of, 186
 Thockmorton, John, 147
 Thorne, Dr. Giles, 303
 Thornton, Roger, 95
 Tiptoft, Joyce, Lady, 185, 199
 Toddenham, John, 166
 Toke, Nich., 303
 Tomb-makers, 10, 61, 64
 Tong, Seman, 245
 Tonson, Crystofer, 208
 Torryngton, Rich., 60
 Totyngton, Abbot, 254
 Trade heraldry, 162
 Tregonwell, Sir John, 182
 Trilleck, Bishop, 5, 69, 112
 Trinity, the Holy, 80, 120, 127, 128, 194, 207, 227, 230, 234
 Troyes, Treaty of, 146
 Trumpington, Sir Roger de, 16, 18, 41
 Tucker, Mr. Stephen, 115
 Turner, Mr. Dawson, 21
 Tyndall, Dean, 288

 Ughtred, Sir Thos., 11
 Urswyk, Sir Thos., 178, 196, 197

 Valence, Aymer de, 37, 50
 Valence, Wm. de, 37

 Verdun, Matilda de, 255
 Vernon, Arthur, 204
 Vernon, Sir Wm., 190
 Verzelini, Jacob, 279
 Vintners, brasses to, 161
 Vision of Piers the Ploughman, 39

 Wadham, Dorothe, 280
 Wadham, Nich., 272, 273
 Wakefield, Battle of, 186
 Waldeby, Archbishop, 112, 114
 Waller, Messrs. J. G. and L. A. B., 79, 178
 Walsch, Sir Thos., 39
 Walsham, Bishop, 70
 Waltham, Bishop de, 5, 112
 Walsokne, Adam de, 5, 84
 Wantele, John, 42, 43, 192
 Wardeboys, Abbot, 265
 Way, Mr. Albert, 249
 Weathercock from a brass, 309
 Weepers, 37, 62, 64, 65, 88, 91
 Wenslagh, Simon de, 202
 White, Bishop, 238
 Whitecoulme, Robt., 173
 Whittingham, Dean, 307
 Whytton, John, 76
 Wideville, Thos., 267
 Willesden, Bart., 182
 William of York, 4, 313
 Williams, Erasmus, 292
 Williams, Mr. J. F., 288
 Willis, Browne, 308
 Willoughby d'Eresby, Lord, 144
 Windsor, canons of, 123, 124
 Wine-casks, 161
 Wode, Emma, 173
 Wolsey, Cardinal, 249
 Wolstonton, Wm., 257
 Wood's *Athena Oxoniensis*, 307
 Worthyn, Philip, 204
 Wycliffe, 6, 39, 46
 Wykeham, Wm. of, statutes, 137
 Wymbyll, Robt., 182
 Wynne, Sir John, 303
 Wythines, Dean, 289
 Wyvil, Bishop, 5, 114

 Yelverton, Sir Wm., 176, 177
Yorkshire Archæological Journal, 294

 Zoest, John and Marg., 84, 86
 Zouch, Wm., Lord, 267

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- VIII. 1815 to 1923. By Sir J. A. R. MARRIOTT

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